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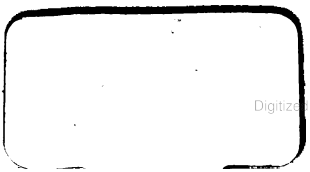
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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

MARCH, 1843.

RECENT TRINITARIAN PUBLICATIONS.*

In the first of these pamphlets we have the first formal American statement of the High Church doctrines of the Oxford school, with which we have met. In the second we have an explicit statement of the Low Church view of the same subjects. In the third we have an expression of the feeling, with which the Catholic Church, both in this country and in England, regards the movements, which have lately taken place in the Episcopal branch of the Church Universal.

The circumstances, under which these two advocates of High and Low Church doctrines appear before the public, are somewhat novel. One of the main advantages, attending a church of established forms, is stated by Paley to be uniformity of doctrine, exhibited in the same pulpit. Under an opposite mode of administration, the consequence would be, "that a Papist, or a Presbyterian, a Methodist, a Moravian, or an Anabaptist, would successively gain possession of the pulpit." The very thing, which the Episcopal forms were intended to obviate, seems in this case to have taken place. On the twenty-fourth Sunday after Trinity, Bishop Whittingham instituted Mr. Johns to the Rectorship of Christ's Church in Baltimore, and in a discourse without any text, unless a quotation on the opposite page from Irenæus may be considered as such, asserts that the person he has just instituted is a *priest*, that the Lord's

* The Priesthood in the Church. The Protestant Episcopal Pastor. The Religious Cabinet.

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table is an *altar*, the elements of communion a sacrifice, and, if we comprehend aright the force of his language, that in partaking of those elements, the communicant eats and drinks "the proper and natural body and the proper blood of Christ." In the evening of the same day, the person so instituted preaches a sermon to the same congregation, in which he says, "I am no more a priest, in the sense of the word objected to, than you are, my brethren, who are laymen; nor can I, in the same sense, offer sacrifice any more than you." The table is *not* an altar. And moreover he asserts, "It is both theologically and philosophically erroneous to speak of the reception of even *the proper spiritual body of Christ* in, with, or under the bread and wine of the Eucharist;" and closes by saying, that he will never preach such doctrines, "so help me God!" A more awkward predicament it is difficult to conceive, than for a Bishop to preach one doctrine in the morning, at the institution of a Rector, and for the Rector on the evening of the same day to contradict him, and promulgate precisely the opposite doctrine. We do not say this in derision or in triumph. Far be it from us to take pleasure in the dissensions of any branch of the Christian Church. It is not one sect alone that suffers on such occasions, but our common Christianity. Our common Lord is wounded in the house of his friends. We wish merely to point out the fact, that creeds and forms are no security for uniformity of faith, or for the peace of a church. However carefully they may be worded, there arises the same dispute about the meaning of terms and phrases, which existed in relation to the language of the Bible, upon which all creeds profess to be founded.

But it is time to exhibit the statements and arguments of these two advocates of High and Low Church doctrines. The Bishop, after instituting the Rector, holds the following language as to the office with which he had invested him.

"In the office which we have just been using, I have, by the prescription of the Church, had occasion again and again to speak of your pastor as '*a priest*,' and of the duties which have now been committed to him as 'sacerdotal functions'—implying that *as a priest* he is to minister among you, and therefore to offer *sacrifice*, at what we learn from the rubrics or directions incorporated in the Office, to call the '*altar*' of Christian worship.

"It is a very serious thing to use such language in the imme-

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diate presence and solemn worship of HIM who, while He searcheth the heart, hateth a lie, and the maker and lover of it, if we have any doubts of its correctness. Yet such have been started. It is my purpose to examine the grounds for acquiescing, in the view adopted by the Church and put forth in the framework of her most solemn formularies.

"An objection, that must be met at the outset, is, that we have no Scriptural sanction for such procedure;—that the New Testament no where speaks of 'priest,' 'altar,' or 'sacrifice,' as pertaining to the worship of the New and better Covenant. This is a matter not wholly certain, since the epistle to the Hebrews says "we *have* an altar;" and our Saviour in his Sermon on the Mount, where the Gospel is set in contrast with the Law, speaks of *His* followers leaving their gifts on the altar, to be first reconciled with their brethren, before they offer; while the apostles repeatedly make mention of the gifts and offerings of Christians in terms implying a sacrificial character. But for the moment setting these passages aside, what will follow, suppose it should be granted that the application of the terms "priest," 'sacrifice,' and 'altar' to a ministry and worship under the Gospel, does not occur in the New Testament? Just this — that the terms, and the things they signify, will be left in the same position as the terms 'Sabbath' and 'Bible,' and the things they signify. If there be no mention of a Christian *priest*, there is none, also, of a Christian *Sabbath*. If our being *all* priests, a 'royal priesthood,' 'a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices,' 'kings and priests unto GOD,' excludes a delegated priesthood of men separated to the work, then our time being all holy, our whole lives consecrated unto GOD, must exclude (as some few sects have from time to time, in opposition to the mass of the Christian community, maintained) the dedication of the seventh day as holy unto the LORD. If our having One great high Priest, for ever making intercession, by the oblation of his One sufficient Sacrifice, excludes the ministration of earthly priests; so we have One heavenly Sabbath, a rest remaining for the people of GOD, to which we are bid look forward, and for an entry into which we are taught to labor. If the absence from the New Testament, of the words 'priest,' 'sacrifice,' and 'altar,' in application to the ministers and mode of Christian worship, could prove the ministry of the Gospel to be no priesthood, its service no sacrifice, needing and admitting of no altar, then the absence of the words 'Bible' and 'Holy Scriptures' from the New Testament, in application to its own form and contents, would prove that the New Dispensation has no sacred volume, the word of GOD, written by apostles and evangelists, no claim to be His revelation of His will.

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"This negative mode of arguing, then, will not do. The books of the New Testament are part and parcel of the Bible, though they no where say so. The Lord's Day is the Christian Sabbath, though no where called so. The gospel ministry may be a priesthood, the worship of the Church a sacrifice, though no where so described."

Such are the Bishop's views of the sacerdotal functions of the Christian ministry. He then attempts to draw the line between the Episcopal and Roman Catholic doctrines upon this subject. Of the clearness and satisfactoriness of this distinction, we leave others to judge.

"Unquestionably, like every other truth, this, of the sacerdotal character of the Christian ministry, has been liable to misinterpretation and abuse. Errors of the most dangerous nature have grown out of it, and prevailed to a very great extent, and find their misguided advocates to this very day and at our thresholds. A priesthood, assuming the character of mediatorship and intercessorship, sprung up in days of predominant ignorance, out of the amalgamation of half discarded paganism with the Christian forms and doctrines. A worship offered not *with*, but *for* the people, in a tongue unknown to them, and a voice inaudible, crept into use among insufficiently instructed converts, from the barbarous hordes that changed the face of Europe in the sixth and following centuries, and, in similar circumstances, found its way among the Churches of the East, depriving their time-honored forms of half their beauty and nearly all their efficacy. Crude, contradictory, and low views of the Christian sacraments, led to utterly unscriptural notions of the sacrificial nature of the blessed eucharist, and while they, almost blasphemously, elevated it into a constantly recurring, and simultaneously multiplied, propitiatory repetition of the one great mystery wrought on Calvary, degraded it into dependence for its nature, worth, and efficacy, on the intention of the frail and sinful man commissioned with its administration. Ministerial intervention for the remitting or retaining sin, by admission to the sacraments or exclusion from their privileges, assumed the form, for ten centuries unheard of in the Church, of judicial reconciliation of offenders in absolution, given on terms at the discretion of the fallible, mortal judge.

"Such a priesthood the reformers found, claiming privileges, which it refused to test by the written record of its commission, and exercising those privileges, even on its own showing of their extent, in abuses the most fearful and soul-destroy-

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ing. Is it wonderful that some, who set themselves to gainsay its usurpations, failed, in the corruption which they saw, to find the simple, scriptural original? and under the exclusive worship, mumbled in an unknown tongue, of a mass — and pardon-mongering ministry, lost sight of the Christian priesthood and its spiritual sacrifices?

"*Some*, not all; for GOD be thanked, our branch of the Catholic Church of Christ, while it purged away the accumulated errors that had soiled its discipline and worship, retained alike the form of sound words in doctrine, and the golden casket of ritual observances, that it found transmitted, unbroken and unchanged from primitive days and apostolic men. A ministry derived, by pure succession, from the fount in the Lord's own commission, has never ceased to keep up its claim to the priestly character, by professing unto GOD and man to 'celebrate and make' 'before the Divine majesty,' with the 'offering' of 'holy gifts,' a 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,' as the 'bounden duty and service' of a redeemed people, seeking 'for themselves and the whole Church' 'remission of sins and all other benefits of the passion' of their Saviour.

"This I do not hesitate to single out as the great characteristic of the Church, distinctive of its position from that of all the surrounding bodies — a due regard for the Christian priesthood, as exercised in the administration of the sacraments. On the one hand, Rome degrades the divine institutions, baptism and the Supper of the Lord, by raising to their level ordinances, partly of inferior use, partly of corrupt origin and dangerous tendency. On the other, Protestant sects and schisms from our own body, have little by little given up, first the commission to administer the sacraments, then the accurate conception of their use and nature, and at last the just estimation and due reverence for institutions, certainly placed, by our Lord's own command and the doctrine of his apostles, on higher ground than is assignable to any other joint overt act of Christian duty. Time was, when the difference between the Church and surrounding bodies, on this point, was less than prevailing looseness of opinion now renders it; and we might even quote the Westminster Confession and the Assembly's Catechism (to say nothing of Luther and Calvin and Knox and Cartwright) in our justification against those, who upbraid us as 'a sacramental Church,' on account of the stress laid, as well in our formularies of faith and worship, as in our practice, on what the Assembly's larger Catechism terms '*means of salvation* and seals of the benefits of Christ's death and mediation,' and the Synod of Dort describes as 'signs and seals, *by means whereof* GOD *worketh in us* by the power of the Holy Ghost.'"

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Here we have, not explicitly expressed, indeed, the divine right of apostolical succession, and the exclusive validity of the ministrations of the Episcopal and Catholic clergy, they only possessing, by unbroken transmission, the official functions of celebrating the ordinances of the Gospel.

Next follows a statement, which we are somewhat astonished to see made in a Protestant country, so near the middle of the nineteenth century. We have looked at it in every possible way, and we are able to make nothing more or less of it, than TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

"It is, indeed, because we are consistent in this view of the sacraments, (once the common ground of all who claimed the name of Christian, except Socinians and Anabaptists,) that we attach the importance to the ministerial succession, which procures for us so many hard thoughts and speeches. The commission to seal remission of sins and regeneration in baptism we hold to be derivable from Him alone, who has the key of David upon his shoulder, who shuts and no man can open, and opens and no man shut. The right to offer the 'spiritual oblation,' as the Westminster Confession — the 'sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving,' as our Prayer Book — terms the Eucharist, we can regard as obtainable from none but Him who therein communicates Himself to the believer, and makes the humble penitent — to quote again the Assembly's Catechism — '*truly* and *really* to feed upon His body and His blood.' If, even to preach the Gospel, as the Holy Ghost has taught us, it is necessary that 'they be sent,' how much more to apply its seals to individual believers, and in baptism wash away the sins of those who come to Christ, and in the Supper of the LORD convey into the hand of faith (to use the language of the reformer Jewell) 'the body and blood of our LORD, the flesh of the Son of GOD, which quickeneth our souls, the meat that cometh from above, the food of immortality, of grace and truth and life; by the partaking whereof we be revived, strengthened, and fed unto immortality; and whereby we are joined, united, and incorporate unto Christ, that we may abide in Him and He in us'—'so that we err not,' (to sum up all in one strong expression of the Synod of Dort) 'so that we err not when we say that, that which is eaten and drank by us is the proper and natural body and the proper blood of Christ.'

"Who, thus believing, can view the sacraments otherwise than as the highest and most concerning privileges of the believer, the very breath of his spiritual life, being the medium appointed by Him, who gives it for its communication and susten-

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tation? as the best and costliest treasures of the Church, entrusted to its dispensation as the children's food, committed to the stewardship of a segregated ministry, that as well to the Church on earth, as to the Judge of all at the last great day, a strict account may be given of the use and fruits of such heavenly blessings? or can look upon the commission to that ministry, so entrusted, as a light thing, to be thoughtlessly allowed to every claimant without full proof from scriptural and historic testimony?"

The question here naturally occurs, Is a majority of the Episcopal Church in the United States prepared to sanction such doctrines; and if so, will they be borne by the mass of the people? We are told that under their influence the church is gaining strength. We are much disposed to doubt the fact. We can readily conceive of their drawing closer the bonds of attachment of a few, but we think that this effect will be more than counterbalanced by the repugnance, with which such lofty pretensions will be regarded by a larger portion of the Protestant world.

We now turn to the discourse of Mr. Johns, preached the same evening, in the same church, after having been instituted Rector in the morning by the same Bishop, and lectured as to his functions and his relations to the church. As a good omen *he* took a text, though we are unable to perceive its pertinency to the occasion, or the subject he intended to discuss. It was the answer of Naomi to Ruth; "Thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God." Of the theology and criticism of this discourse, as well as that of the Bishop, we shall forbear to speak in this place. We shall say something of them before we close. We shall here notice only what it contains on the subjects of the priesthood, the altar, and transubstantiation.

"But what, shall it be conceived possible, that the Christian in abandoning the idolatry of the world, should rush upon that, in the Church, which may lead to the same delusion? Shall the Christian Ruth, as she renounces the errors of Moab, encounter others within the enclosures of the sanctuary? Never we would humbly trust; and yet who can show that this is not virtually the case, if in the consecrated elements of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the devout communicant is instructed, that there is given and received the proper natural body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ? Now, with the utmost respect

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for those with whom I differ on this point, I am solemnly bound so to do, and accordingly I fearlessly proclaim this to be an 'erroneous and strange doctrine, contrary to God's word.' (See the vows of ordination in the book of Common Prayer.) I do firmly and solemnly believe, that the use of such language cannot fail to bewilder and mislead the minds of our people; so to speak is to give utterance to that, which contains an error in theology, and a palpable philosophical absurdity.

"But again — It is both theologically and philosophically erroneous to speak of the reception of even *the proper spiritual body* of Christ in, with, or under the bread and wine of the Eucharist; and for these reasons: the creed teaches us, that this body sitteth on the right hand of God the Father; and so says the scripture, 'whom the heavens must receive, until the times of restitution,' Acts. iii: 21. It is and must be there locally, for as it is a glorified, spiritualized *human body*, it is not omnipresent: if it were omnipresent, it would not be *our human nature;* to suppose Christ's proper body capable of omnipresence, is to suppose that, which, if true, would destroy Christ's proper humanity; if he be, in his human nature, omnipresent, his humanity is not like ours: and yet we know that it is precisely such as ours is, sin only excepted; 'for verily he took not on him the nature of Angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham, and was in all things made like unto his brethren:' Heb. ii: 16, 17: and being precicely such, it cannot be in two places at one and the same time: it cannot be in heaven and in the bread and wine of the Eucharist, at the same moment: not even can Christ's *proper spiritual body* be thus in the elements of the communion, much less his '*proper natural body and blood.*' To contend for this, is to destroy Christ's proper humanity, and this is as important an article of our faith, as his proper divinity. This idea, therefore, of the presence of Christ's body, whether natural or spiritual, in the elements of the Eucharist, *in any way, shape, or manner*, confounds the two natures of Christ, by assigning the attributes of his divine nature to his human, and is utterly at variance with scriptural theology and sound philosophy."

The remarks he quotes from Bishop White, as to the propriety of calling the communion table an altar, cannot but strike every judicious person as sound and just.

"I conceive so unfavorably of whatever *may lead, even by remote consequence*, to creature worship, as to give a caution against a notion which sometimes appears in writers, who were *sincere*, but *inconsistent* protestants. The notion is,

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that there is in the Eucharist a real sacrifice; that it is offered on an altar, and that the officiating minister is a priest, in the sense of an offerer of sacrifice. Under the economy of the gospel, *there is nothing coming under the names referred to, except the fulfilment of them in the person of the High Priest of our profession.* As to our Church, although she commemorates a great sacrifice in the Eucharist, yet *she knows of no offering of this description,* except in the figurative sense in which prayers and alms are sacrifices. She calls the place on which her oblation is made, not '*an altar,*' '*but a table,*' although there is no impropriety in calling it an altar also, the word being understood figuratively. And as to the minister in the ordinance, although she retains the word 'Priest,' yet she considers it as synonymous with "Presbyter: which appears from the Latin standard of the book of Common Prayer, and is agreeable to etymology."

The views, which he takes of the priesthood of the ministry, are to us quite as satisfactory.

"The English word priest is used, in consequence of the meagreness of our language, as the translation of the two Greek words, ιερευς and Πρεσβυτερος, the former of which denotes an offerer of Jewish sacrifices, and the latter a Christian Minister. The latter word, which expresses a Christian Minister, according to Bishop White, 'never denotes an offerer of sacrifice,' except in the figurative or accommodated sense. I am no more a priest in the sense of the word objected to, than you are, my brethren, who are laymen; nor can I in the same sense offer sacrifice, any more than you can. In the accommodated use of this language, you may offer sacrifices, as we gather from the words of the Apostles. St. Peter says, addressing himself promiscuously to Christians, 'ye are a chosen generation, a *royal priesthood,* an holy nation, a peculiar people, that *ye should shew forth* the praises of him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light.' 1 Epis. of Pet. ii. 9. And also St. Paul, 'I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that *ye present your bodies a living sacrifice* holy and acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.' (Rom. xii. 1.) In these passages of Scripture, all Christians are denominated priests and recognised as capable of offering sacrifices to God, evidently in the accommodated sense of the terms."

The official remission of sins, which the Bishop seems to consider as a power transmitted from the apostles, he treats

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with little ceremony, and he closes with a solemn oath that he never will preach the doctrines which his spiritual superior had enjoined on him in the morning.

"Nor has this ordinance any efficacy to procure the remission of sins; for 'the order,' under consideration tells us, that this is procured by Christ's 'one oblation of himself once offered, a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.' Sound Protestants, believing this language of the Church to be in perfect consonance with the statements of the Bible, cannot consent to any other offering of the body of Christ, or any other sacrifice of atonement, but most thankfully remember Christ's one, 'full, perfect sacrifice' on the cross, as wholly 'sufficient' for all their wants.

"In like manner do they understand the language of the catechism; as teaching them, that in the Holy Communion there is 'an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace *given unto us*,' and not to the 'creatures of bread and wine.' The elements, when consecrated, represent to us the broken body and shed blood, and stand like an index pointing to him who once hung upon the cross, and now appears at God's right hand. The inward and spiritual grace is given unto us directly by Christ the Master of the feast. The ordinance, as a rich and precious means of grace, fulfils its office by leading our thoughts to Christ, and then the Master acknowledges his own institution by pouring his grace into the soul of the obedient disciple, who thus 'feeds upon him in his heart by faith with thanksgiving.' Thus does the Church, like her Lord and Master, teach us, that the words which she addresses to us in this ordinance, are 'spirit and life.'

"These, my brethren, are believed to be the doctrines of our Church. I hold that they are vitally important to her peace and welfare. They embrace those principles for which our Protestant forefathers shed their blood, and none other shall you ever hear from me in this sacred desk, 'so help me God.'"

There is something in this of the spirit of '76, and it assures us, that however High Church doctrines may be carried in England, backed as their advocates expect to be by the whole power and patronage of their vast establishment, there is something in the air of America which will say to them, "Hitherto, and no farther."

We are glad that these two pamphlets have appeared. We are happy that the issue between these opposite parties of the

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Episcopal Church has thus been publicly made up on this side the Atlantic. The world may now know what they are contending about, and in what light they view themselves and the other divisions of the Christian Church.

The first thing that occurs to us, on looking over these pamphlets, is the conclusion, that whichever of the arguments prevails, they will be alike fatal to the cause of exclusive Episcopacy. The low church claims only to establish the validity of her own ministrations, leaving that of others to stand or fall on its own grounds. If she prevails, she will leave all other denominations within the pale of the church, and equally in prospect of salvation. If the high church succeeds, and denies the saving efficacy of the ministrations of every ministry but her own and the Catholic, she must exclude the other churches of the Protestant world by the same rule by which the Catholic may exclude her, — that of heresy and schism. She cannot use one argument against the validity of the acts of the dissenters from her faith and forms, which the Catholic may not urge with equal force against her. She may say that the Catholic Church had become corrupt. Supposing she had, who was to convict her of corruption? According to the theory of authority, no other body but herself. She might retract, but no power could force her to do so. There is no middle ground between authority and private judgment. A man must submit to the majority, or he must judge for himself. And those very bodies, which separate and set up for themselves, are governed by the voice of the majority, both to decide what is true, and to determine what is to be done. Now there is no way in which the right to decide what is true, and what is to be done, can pass from the majority of the church universal, supposing it to exist there, to the majority of any section of the church, without destroying the very principle upon which it is founded, or without giving the same right to a minority of that section again to divide, and take with them the same powers, unimpaired, of determining what is true and what is to be done. There was no possible way then, in which the Protestant Episcopal Church, on the principle of authority, could get into existence as an authoritative church. Schism constitutes an impassable gulf, which authority can never bridge over. The claim, therefore, of the Episcopal Church to any exclusive rights, is a felo de se, destroys itself, and in unchurching all other Protestants she unchurches herself. The only

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way, in which she can legitimately gain the authority she seeks to exercise, is to return unto the bosom of the Catholic Church, and persuade her to renounce the errors for which she forsook her communion, or herself renounce those doctrines for the sake of which she seceded. If the doctrine of apostolic succession can overleap the great gulf which separates the Protestant from the Catholic Church, it certainly can overleap the smaller chasms which separate the Protestant Churches from each other.

The ground of authority failing the High Church party, or driving them inevitably into the Church of Rome, there remains nothing but expediency as the reason of the preference of their forms. In the absence of any proof in the New Testament of the jurisdiction of any church officer, except the apostles and those who acted by their direction, over any other church than that to which he belonged, Episcopacy itself comes to rest on no other ground than that of its utility alone. All church organization is to be judged of by its efficacy in promoting the purposes for which the church exists. The purpose of the existence of the church is undoubtedly the sanctification and salvation of the souls of its members. The light, in which the officers of the church are to be regarded, will depend upon the light in which the sacraments are considered. If they have an intrinsic efficacy, and salvation or perdition is suspended on our partaking or not partaking of them in a particular manner, and if that peculiar efficacy is communicated to them by being administered by a certain succession of persons, then it becomes of the highest importance to inquire in what that succession consists, and how it is kept alive. If at the bar of God it shall be the deciding point, of two persons of equal Christian attainment, that one shall go into life eternal and the other into everlasting punishment, that one received the sacrament from a Roman or an Episcopal clergyman, and the other from a dissenter, then apostolic succession is of vital, paramount importance, and all Protestant sects are in greater danger than they suppose. But if the efficacy of the sacraments be only relative, a means of edification and of perpetuating the church as an outward institution, then the organization of the church bears an entirely different aspect. Then the officers of the church must be considered with respect to the purposes which they are intended to answer, the edification of the church, its order, and its perpetuation. How can the

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church be edified? By being taught. Does the capacity of teaching depend on ordination? By no means. But it is found expedient to maintain this form, to prevent incompetent and improper persons from taking it up and disturbing the order of the churches, and preventing their edification The forms of examination and ordination are maintained, that the church may have at all times a supply of competent teachers. Now it makes no difference by whom this examination and ordination is performed, provided the persons are qualified, a Bishop, a Presbytery, an Eldership, or a convocation of Circuit Riders. And after all, any of them may err. The laying on of their hands will not confer piety where it did not exist before, nor learning where there has been no study, nor aptness to teach where there are no natural talents.

Then, if we adopt the opinion, that there is no intrinsic efficacy in the sacraments, their being administered in a manner to edification will depend on the appropriate, the reverent, and becoming manner in which they are administered, on the opinion of those who receive them, of the right of the person who officiates to administer them, and the preparation of heart and sincere devotional feelings of the participants. And even in the absence of proper feelings on both sides, which it is to be hoped never happens, one end is secured, the perpetuity of the church and its ordinances, that it may be conveyed down to purer hands and sincerer hearts. Now if both order and edification are secured, if a supply of competent teachers is kept up, and the sacraments are celebrated in a manner satisfactory to all, it seems but a trifling point what the various officers of the church are called, whether Bishops, or Presbyters, or Elders. The functionaries are competent, if all parties consider them to be so.

This seems to be the ground upon which the organization of the church was left by the writers of the New Testament. There is no part of sacred criticism more difficult than to discover the number and functions of the officers of the primitive church. There are no two places where they are described alike. When Paul touched at Miletus, on his way to Jerusalem, he sent to Ephesus and called the Presbyters or Elders of the church, and when they had arrived at Ephesus, he addressed them as Bishops. He commands Titus to ordain *Elders* in every city. "If any man be blameless, the husband of one wife, having believing children, not accused of riot or unruly;

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for a Bishop must be blameless." Then, in that formal enumeration of the officers in the church, given in the twelfth chapter of I. Corinthians, neither Bishops nor Elders are mentioned, and it is impossible to determine, at this distance of time, what were the functions of the different grades there mentioned. "And God hath set some in the church, first, apostles; secondarily, prophets; thirdly, teachers; after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues."

In this entire absence not only of prescribed form, but of knowledge what the form was, or whether it was uniform in all places and at all times, we are left to recur to the circumstances and principles, which seem to have directed them in the choice of forms. And to us nothing seems plainer than that the officers of the early church were created from time to time to meet the wants of the time and the circumstances of the churches. Deacons were first created to manage a charity, which sprang up in the church, and that because the apostles could not find time to attend to it. And then, in the Epistle to the Corinthians, from which we have just quoted, the offices there mentioned seem to be shaped to fit the peculiar gifts of each individual. After the cessation of miracles, and the church was to be increased by growth from within, instead of conversion from without, then sprang another order, not mentioned in the Scriptures, of Catechists, persons whose office it was to instruct the children and the rising generation, an order corresponding very nearly to our Sunday School Teachers. The great catechetical schools of Antioch and Alexandria were certainly a part of the organization of the church, and one which was the growth of circumstances and not of apostolic enactment, just as our theological schools have been in modern times.

This power and privilege of adaptation has always been used, and has never grown obsolete in the church. God's blessing has attended its exercise. No one can read the life of Wesley, without perceiving, that the present organization of the Methodist Church, which has proved itself perhaps more efficient for its purposes than that of any church since the apostles, was the growth of circumstances, and not of any foresight, much less any plan of its founder. We consider it, therefore, exceedingly unfortunate, that the divine right of Episcopacy should have been brought forward in this country

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at this time. In England, backed by immense wealth, and the patronage of the government, such a doctrine may be forced upon the people, though not even there without great struggle. Here the case is different. Every church is, in fact, independent, and will never submit to that discipline, which is necessary to force High Church doctrines upon the whole denomination. Any such attempt will be resolutely resisted, even to the severing of the church.

Besides, the age of rituals is gone by, and cannot be brought back, without making the Church of Rome the tomb, as she was the mother, of all Protestant denominations. And the moment the Episcopal Church sets up an exclusive claim, on the ground of ritual observances, not only will she be compelled to recede into the bosom of her mother, but she will raise up a powerful competitor on her own ground, and that very near home. Her numbers are but a drop in the bucket when compared to those of the Baptists, who upon occasion may set up an exclusive claim of divine right quite as startling, and quite as difficult to dispose of, as that of their Episcopal brethren. They may deny, as they often have denied, that any one, who has not been baptized by immersion, can perform any valid official act in the church, or even has any claim to the Christian name. They would *act* on this principle, we presume, by rebaptizing any person who had been sprinkled by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself. Here then, would be exhibited to the world the singular spectacle of three exclusive churches in the same country; the Episcopal church, claiming for themselves and the Catholics, the Catholics, for themselves exclusively, and the Baptists, for themselves exclusively, all right to administer the ordinances of the Christian Church. In the mean time, while these churches are disputing about the symbols, and the exclusive right to handle them, the thing signified is taking place in all churches, men are made Christians, and prepared for heaven.

Wherever men assemble in the name of Christ, though only two or three, "there he is in the midst of them," not bodily nor mystically, but by the influence of his character and religion. No promise of his presence could be stronger, even at the supper itself; and yet it is made, not concerning the communion, but concerning ordinary meetings for religious purposes. No matter if there be not an official person present. No matter if it be two or three friends, met together for conversa-

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tion upon things connected with Christ's religion, the promise is equally to them, and we have every reason to believe is always redeemed. Wherever the Scriptures are publicly read, even though they may be expounded with a large admixture of what is merely human and fallible, there is edification. Wherever there is true prayer, breathed by a pious and humble soul, there is sanctification. Wherever the rite of baptism is administered, whether to the infant at the font, or to the adult at the river side, there is the same public recognition of God, of Christ, and the purposes of his religion. Wherever the Lord's Supper is celebrated by believing, penitent, and obedient hearts, there is Christ brought to remembrance in the way of his appointment, and though not recognised by the senses, he is present to the eye of faith and affection, and still speaks peace, and hope, and consolation to his disciples. Such being the nature of the ordinances of our religion, and such their practical influence when administered by all sects, it would seem to be a waste of time and ingenuity for one sect to attempt to make out an exclusive claim to their valid administration. And, as we have already said, no Protestant sect can do this, except upon grounds which the Catholics may urge with much greater force against all Protestant sects.

Indeed, the Catholics, who understand the bearing of all these questions, quite as well as those who are engaged in their discussion, already consider the High Church doctrines promulgated from Oxford, as a virtual recession into their principles. That they do so, is evident from their published sentiments on both sides of the Atlantic. We have seen nothing more to the point than the following "Extract from a Letter on the Oxford Movement in America," which appeared in the Religious Cabinet, a Catholic periodical, published in Baltimore, in the Number for December, 1842.

"It is not to be doubted, that there are many of them (Episcopalians in the U. States) no whit behind the best even of illustrious Oxford either 'in good feeling or common sense,' but they are here in a double isolation: they are not only cut off from the communion of the Catholic Church, but they are without individual Christian sympathy, and it is asking too much of men in general, to ask them *singly* and alone to take a step which, however they see it to be right, they themselves, and all around them, have been in the habit of thinking wrong, or rather, to speak more truly, *of thinking that they thought* it

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wrong. This habit, like any habit, was only to be got rid of by another's taking its place: and thanks to the better spirit, which has everywhere grown up in religious matters, and of which Oxford seems to be the organ, it has been got rid of. The habit of thinking or speaking all manner of evil against the Catholic Church, falsely, has given place, in a manner altogether wonderful, to inquiring about the truth and acknowledging it. So the first step is already taken, and, as I have said, the road to Rome, for men of 'Catholic minds,' is greatly shortened here from what it is yet in England; that is, at least for individuals, for of course the re-union of the Anglican Church with Catholic Christendom is far easier than that of the 'Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.'

"If, moreover, serious men among Episcopalians here, any more than their brethren with you, have not yet agreed, or perhaps discovered *'quæ erga Deum et homines agere et dicere deceat,'* what regard should be paid to God and to men in our words and actions, at least they are beginning to feel it is time to make up their minds. They are quite satisfied that something more is wanted than human laws, or human respects, or 'religious institutions,' both for individuals and for the public, in an age like this, when men, whose daily bread is an accident, or perhaps an alms, *affect* waste and luxury, and when the intellectual, and the cultivated, and the high in place and fortune are among the foremost in vice and profligacy, and even the low crimes of forgery and theft. These men, all of them, feel the necessity for themselves, and often still more for others, of a yoke other than material, or political, or ad arbitrium alicujus. And no man of any mark amongst them but is ashamed of the absurdity of private judgment's going along with creeds and articles, or even moral codes; and sees, with honest indignation, the fruits of what people have been pleased to call 'Evangelical doctrine.' They may have let their wives or daughters 'play the spider and weave meshes' round their outward man, but their intellect or their heart has never been 'captivated' in the ill-woven web of Protestantism; not even their honor or their pride is entangled in it. They are uncommitted, in general, at least, by any act of their own, and often take little trouble to conceal even from Catholics their most reasonable want of reverence for a system of negations, a visible body without a visible head; sovereignty without unity; authority in spirituals (that is, to bind men's consciences) with the claim even to infallibility or indefectibility. How many a time have you and I, in our days of what we rejoiced to call 'churchmanship,' heard from men, who never doubted they were staunch Protestants, sober acknow-

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ledgments of the utter inefficiency, and insufficiency of their Church, and frank, if not cordial admiration of the sacred majesty of the Catholic rite; of the sublime charity of the Catholic religion; of the never ending triumph of Catholic martyrs, and of the everywhere parent authority of the Catholic priesthood, with its consolations and its counsels, its indulgences and its restraints! Such men, with you, may be kept where they are by hopes for their Church, but there are no such hopes here, nor does the deceitfulness of such hopes blind them. Nor is it the future struggle, the horror difficultatis, the labor certaminis, that holds them back, but their spiritual as well as religious isolation, the stare super seipsum: and I verily believe there are hundreds and thousands of Episcopalians that would be *glad* to hear it said by all around them, 'we will go into the house of the Lord.' Could the religious atmosphere of Oxford be created in any Protestant community here; could the religious dispositions which, thank God, have always existed among the female portion of the Anglo-American race, begin to exist among the male; could the men of that communion here, be led to seek the grace of devotion and to practise *acts of Christianity*, they would not wait for the civil power nor for *their* Church to 'return to the reverential faith of other ages—to that high, and holy, and self-denying spirit of devotion and charity, which visibly embodied itself of old in our cathedrals and our abbeys of England, and to the Church which only is ever and forever practically in possession of it, the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church of Rome. The Anglo-Americans are eminently a straight-forward people;—in right or wrong, *en avant* is their motto, and just as soon as they become animated by Catholic feelings will they cease to be satisfied with Protestant communions. And so far as we are concerned on this side of the Atlantic, I, for one, care not if no new work of controversy be written from this day forever. Episcopalians may use their own edition of our sweet Thomas Kempis, (alas, that they should be so different from the true one!) they may use their own beautiful Oxford prayers for unity—and even read their own 'Catholic-minded' authors; I have no fear but that those, who are really *ready to take up their cross and follow* the Redeemer, will be led by him to the holy city."

How this controversy between the High and Low Church parties in the Episcopal Church in this country will terminate, it is at present impossible to predict. If it were on any other soil than that of America, the natural course of things would be for the High Church doctrines to bear down the Low, as

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they will naturally enlist the clergy in their favor, and according to the ecclesiastical constitution of the Episcopal Church, the clergy virtually have the power. No effectual resistance can be offered, as we conceive, except by a resort to the republican elements of the body, which would be in fact a dissolution of its present organization.

Since we commenced this article, Bishop Whittingham has published another discourse, which we suppose he means to have considered as explanatory to the other two, entitled, "Emmanuel in the Eucharist." This will be considered, we believe, by most persons, as shifting the ground of the real presence from Christ's human to his divine nature. Inasmuch as Christ is the incarnate Jehovah, who is essentially omnipresent, he must be present in the Eucharist. In the course of it he says, "The bread and wine, I hardly need say, are not the flesh and blood, but bare signs; *their* reception then is not in itself the eating and drinking *the things signified, that* too is merely *signified* by the outward act."

This reference to the human and divine natures of Christ leads us to speak of the general doctrines of the Episcopal Church on this subject. Mr. Johns tells us in his preface, that "he believes that more than human wisdom guided the men who arranged the services of the book of Common Prayer." Of the general excellence of the forms of the Episcopal service, supposing it conceded that it is expedient to have a form, there can be but one opinion. There is a very good reason why they should be excellent. They consist principally of extracts from the Bible. No person, who has any devotional feeling, can listen to that service without being impressed with the conviction that those parts of it, which are of human origin, were composed by men of deep piety as well as of admirable judgment. The tone of it all is worthy of all praise, equally removed from mechanical coldness and wild enthusiasm.

There are some parts of it, however, which we think no one, who has adequate ideas of the nature of the Deity, or who has carefully studied the Old and New Testaments in the original languages, can hear or read without astonishment and pain. He will hear the Supreme Ruler of the universe, who filleth immensity and eternity, "with whom is no variableness neither shadow of turning," addressed in such strange language as this: "By the mystery of thy holy Incarnation, by thy holy Nativity and Circumcision," — the circumcision of God!! —

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"By thy Baptism, Fasting, and Temptation," — the temptation of God!! — "Who CANNOT be tempted of evil, neither tempteth he any man." "By thine Agony and bloody Sweat, by thy Cross and Passion." We will quote no more. What idea of God does such language as this suggest and inculcate of that Being, who at the moment of the birth and death of Jesus, was superintending the myriads of worlds, which revolve around the eighty-five millions of suns, that shine upon us nightly from the blue depths of space! We exclaim in our hearts, Christian brother, early habit and religious reverence have made you insensible to the import of the language you use, and led you to forget that "God is a spirit," and not one of these terms, when applied to him, can have any meaning.

Turn from the service to the Catechism, and the most ordinary mind, which examines and reflects, immediately meets with traces, not of "more than human wisdom," but of human fallibility. The catechumen is made to recite the substance of his belief, in the form which has come down to us under the name of the Apostle's Creed, a form certainly of great antiquity, but which has no satisfactory claim to come from the hands of the apostles. The best evidence of its antiquity is the fact, that its very structure shows that it was framed antecedently to the establishment of the doctrine of the Trinity. There is no allusion in it to the Deity of Christ, nor even his preëxistence. He is not made the Creator of the material universe, even as the instrument of the Almighty. That is all attributed to God the Father Almighty. "I believe in God," — most of the ancient forms have it, "in one God, the Father Almighty. And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was conceived of the Holy Ghost; born of the Virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead and buried; he descended into hell; the the third day he rose from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholic Church; the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; and the life everlasting."

The most remarkable thing about this creed is its antitrinitarian character. Not only is there no allusion to the dogmas of the preëxistence, and the creation of the world through Christ, but his being is dated no further back than his conception.

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The only thing in it, which can be thought to imply any superior nature, is the phrase "only Son." This is evidently taken from the similar expressions, "only" and "only begotten," in the Hebraistic Greek of the New Testament, which are in turn not expressions of singleness of being, but of peculiar endearment. They are the translations of the Hebrew word יחיד, unicus, praestans, which is applied to Isaac, when he was not the only son of Abraham, but his dearly beloved son, as much beloved as an only son usually is. And it is in this sense of *endearment*, we believe, that these epithets are always applied to Christ in the New Testament. If any one wishes to learn the meaning and use of the phrase "only begotten," in the time of the apostles, he has only to turn to the seventeenth verse of the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. "By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up Isaac, and he that had received the promises, offered up his only begotten son." He had another son at the same time, Ishmael.

But we read on a few sentences, and we find the modern comment on this ancient document. And what does the author of the Catechism make the catechumen to have been taught by the creed? "Ques. What dost thou chiefly learn in these articles of thy belief? Ans. First, I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me and all the world. Secondly, in God the Son, who hath redeemed me and all mankind." God the Son! Where can such an expression, or anything equivalent to it, be found, not in the creed alone, but in the whole compass of the Bible? It may be said, that it is found in the phrase, "Son of God." But though they sound somewhat alike, there is not only a difference between "Son of God," and "God the Son," but an infinite difference. "God the Son," must necessarily be God, but "the Son of God," must as necessarily not be God. The Son of God must necessarily be a *derived* being, and the Deity of course be as complete without him as with him.

This brings to view a fact, of which the superficial readers of the Bible do not seem to be at all aware, that the Trinitarian hypothesis cannot be sustained for a moment, without taking the most unwarranted liberties with the language of the Scriptures. Take for instance, the words God and Father. When applied to the Supreme Being, they comprehend the whole Deity. And if this idea is uniformly kept in view, all conception of a Trinity is excluded from the word of God.

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But those, who have been educated to modify the language of Scripture by the Trinitarian conception of God, have learned most conveniently to vary the meaning of these words to suit the exigences of each case, sometimes making them to comprehend the whole Deity, and at others to comprehend the first person only of a Trinity. We will cite a few cases. Jesus teaches his disciples to pray, "Our Father which art in heaven." Of course, there being no other object of worship mentioned, he means to include the whole Deity, the Son and the Holy Ghost, if there be any such persons in the Deity. When Jesus calls God "Father," and "my Father," that he means to include the whole Deity, is evident from his message to his disciples after his resurrection; "I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God." Here evidently God and Father are coextensive in signification, and include the whole Deity, however many persons there may be in it.

With this idea in our minds, let us go to his own devotions. "Father the hour is come. Glorify thy Son, that thy Son also may glorify thee." "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Here then is the Son praying, and praying to the Father as the only true God. Can he be an object of prayer, who himself prays to another as the only true God, and thus excludes himself from all participation in Deity? I know it will be said, that he prayed in his human nature. Then the very thing will follow, which we wish to establish, that he was "the Son" in his human nature, and of course, as "the Son," cannot be an object of religious worship. If the Father be the "only true God," then the Son, whatever may be his rank in the universe, is not God, and must not be worshipped as God. The worship then of "God the Son" is a human invention, the very language is a coinage of the ingenuity of man, not found in any part of the Scriptures. If it is meant to be directed to Jesus in his glorified state, even in that sense it is expressly forbidden by Christ himself. "In that day ye shall ask me nothing. Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name he will give it you." And the uniform representation of the Scriptures is, that Jesus even in his exalted and glorified state is not God, and is just as distinct from him as ever. Even in the oriental conception of God as a king, seated upon a throne, and Jesus exalted to the first place of power and dignity at his right hand, he is not represented as making

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any part of God, or participating at all in divinity. It is "the throne of God *and* the Lamb," not that the Lamb makes any part of God. And when homage is paid to the Lamb, it is not paid to him as God, or for doing any act of God, but "because thou hast redeemed us unto God by thy blood."

Reflection upon these and similar considerations and texts of Scripture must convince any one, we think, that the very phrase, "God the Son," which occurs in the Litany and Catechism, is not only unscriptural, but utterly repugnant to any just conception of Deity, and could be justified only on the supposition, that there were a family of Gods, and that Deity could be multiplied, and shared, and transmitted just as humanity can.

If the train of argument we have gone through above be conclusive, and we see not how the force of it can be eluded, if the terms God and Father are coextensive and comprehend the whole Deity, then the worshipper, when in the words of the Litany he has prayed, "O God the Father of heaven," &c., has exhausted all the objects of worship there are, there is nothing left to worship as God. It is a curious fact, that to this catechism upon the creed, there should be subjoined one upon the ten commandments, thus bringing the pure Monotheism of the old dispensation into advantageous contrast with the multiplied objects of worship introduced under the new. In a few sentences after having said that he is taught by his creed "to believe in God the Father, and in God the Son, and in God the Holy Ghost," he is made to repeat the first commandment. "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." This is represented as being said by the Jehovah of the Old Testament. The Jehovah of the Old Testament is undoubtedly the same Being to whom Jesus prays in the New, as the "only true God," as "the Father." The catechumen acknowledges him when he says, "I learn to believe in God the Father, who hath made me and all the world." But he goes on to acknowledge another Being as equally God, namely "God the Son." How is this to be reconciled with the prohibition in the commandment, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me?" Now God the Father, and God the Son, are either identically and precisely the same, or they are different. If they are identically the same, why should they be called by two different names, and addressed as two beings? And if God the Son be different from God the Father, just so

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far as he is different, he is "another God," which the catechumen is strictly forbidden to have.

The catechumen is made to say, that the Creed teaches him to believe in "God the Son." We have shown, we hope satisfactorily, that no such expression, and no such sense, can be drawn, either from the Creed or from the Bible; that the title, "Son of God," which approaches nearest to it in sound, is applied to his human nature, or rather, as we should in fairness say, to his human nature in its official relations. The catechumen is made to draw an inference from the Creed, which the Creed will by no means sustain. Quite as wide apart are the Creed and the Catechism, in regard to the Holy Ghost. The Creed says, "I believe in the Holy Ghost." The catechumen is made to say, "I am taught by the Creed to believe in God the Holy Ghost." The difference between believing in the Holy Ghost and God the Holy Ghost is very great. One expresses the belief of all who believe the miraculous origin of Christianity, and is assented to by Arian, Trinitarian, and Humanitarian; and by this test they are separated from unbelievers of all kinds, who do not believe in anything supernatural in the establishment of our religion. The Christian believes that "Jesus was led by the Spirit into the wilderness." The infidel thinks that it was all a delusion. Christ declared, that "he cast out devils by the Spirit of God." The infidel considers this to be a mistake. The Christian believes that "holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The infidel believes that they spoke without any divine inspiration. All this may be believed without admitting that the Holy Ghost was the third person of a Trinity, or even a person at all. The terms of the Creed may be fully satisfied by believing, that the Holy Ghost is the miraculous power or action of God. But when you alter the expression from "the Holy Ghost" to "God the Holy Ghost," you make it something entirely different. You make it involve the Trinity. You make it a test between Trinitarians and all others; whereas in the Creed it is a test between believers and unbelievers in the divine origin of Christianity. As it stands in the Creed it is catholic and universal. As it stands in the Catechism it is sectarian and exclusive.

We now turn from the Creed and Catechism to the Litany. As there is a wide difference between believing in the Holy Ghost, and in God the Holy Ghost, so there is a difference

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equally wide between *believing* in the Holy Ghost and *worshipping* the Holy Ghost. Adopting the least objectionable form of the Trinitarian hypothesis, the Sabellian, which makes the three persons to be three manifestations of one incomprehensible Being, and of course the Holy Ghost to be one of those manifestations, the question, as to the propriety of making the Holy Ghost a distinct object of worship, resolves itself into this; Has God ever given any intimation of his will, that he desires to be worshipped in that form? For such an intimation we search in vain through the whole compass of God's word. We have many precepts for devotion, and many examples of devotion in the Bible, but never one of prayer to God the Holy Ghost, or to the Holy Ghost. Let the reader take his Bible and collect all the prayers which occur in it from the beginning to the end, and not one address will he find to have been made to the Holy Ghost. The Litany has in this matter the merit of originality. The nearest approach to any such thing, that is made, is in the form of baptism and in one of the forms of benediction. But, unfortunately for any argument, which any should attempt to draw from the form of baptism, in favor of a plurality of persons in the Deity, the Israelites are said to have been "baptized into Moses," εἰς *Μωσην*, just as Christians are said to be baptized into Christ. They are likewise baptized into Christ's death. In the one case men are said to be baptized into a person who is not God, and in the other into what is not a person but a thing. This being the case, it is in vain that the form of baptism is quoted to prove either the Deity of Christ, or the personality of the Holy Ghost.

In one of the forms of benediction in the Epistles, it is argued that we have the three persons of the Trinity in the way of worship. "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all." But when you come to analyze this sentence, all appearance of forming a Trinity vanishes. We have no intimation that the word "God" in the second clause does not mean the whole Deity. The term is not "Father," but "God," and if we had not become habituated by an hypothesis to shift the meaning of the word "God" from the whole Deity to the first person of a Trinity, no idea of a Trinity would here be suggested. But we go on to examine the relation which is sustained by the first person in the order, to the

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second. The same writer, Paul, gives the relation in another place, where he writes on this wise, "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c., and in a few verses further on, "That the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory," &c. Now according to the Trinitarian hypothesis, though a person of the Trinity may have a Father, he cannot have a God. One person of the Trinity cannot be God to another. Here, moreover, the whole Deity, God, is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. This passage then, so far from proving the Trinity, disproves it, and is utterly irreconcilable with it.

Take, as another instance of the unwarrantable liberties, which the Trinitarian hypothesis compels us to use with the language of Scripture, the Trinitarian exposition of the first verses of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is generally considered as one of the strongest passages in proof of the Deity of Christ. "God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son." Now, in order to make this square with the Trinitarian hypothesis, it is necessary to change the meaning of the word "God" here, from the whole Deity, the Jehovah of the Old Testament, the Being who spake to the fathers by the prophets, and make it signify the first of three persons of a Trinity. It is not the Father who spake by the prophets, and by his Son, but it is God, the whole Deity, comprehending the three persons, Father Son, and Holy Ghost, if there be any such distinctions. Unless you make this arbitrary and unauthorized change in the meaning of the word "God," the doctrine of the Trinity is overturned by the very passage that is brought to prove it. The "Son" here spoken of does not answer the description of the "Son" who is one of the persons of the Trinity. The Son in the Trinity is the Son of the Father, and a part of Deity; but the Son here spoken of is the Son of God, the whole Deity, and of course can make no part of Deity, whose Son he is. That we are right in interpreting God to mean the whole Deity, and the Son to make no part of him, appears from the third verse, where it is said, that this person, whoever he was, having accomplished certain things on earth, "sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high." That Majesty is undoubtedly the Deity, represented as a monarch. He, who sits at his right hand, *cannot* be any part of the Be-

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ing at whose right hand he sits. The second person of a Trinity cannot be superior to the angels, *because* he hath obtained a more excellent name than they, in being called the Son of God.

The Trinitarian then, who makes "Son of God" equivalent to "God the Son," must give up this passage as utterly subversive of his theory, and hand it over to the Arian and Humanitarian. The Arian will interpret "worlds" in the second verse to mean the material universe, and make the Son to have been the instrument in the hands of God in the creation. The Humanitarian will adopt the more common meaning of the word αιωνας, and consider it as signifying periods of time, or states of the world, as we familiarly say, the ancient and the modern world. To him "Son of God" becomes a title of the Messiah, having nothing to do with his nature, and is seized and dilated on by this writer to elevate the origin of Christianity above that of Judaism. He is confirmed in this view by the fact, that the Son is made use of by God, just as the prophets were made the instrument of God in speaking to men. His moral perfections and miraculous powers are no more than represented in the expressions, "who being a reflection of his glory and the image of his substance," since man himself, at his first creation, is said to have been made in the image of God.

Take another example. "But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law;" or in other words, made a man, and a Jew. Now, unless you arbitrarily change the meaning of the word "God" here, from the whole Deity to the first person of a Trinity, the doctrine of the Trinity is overthrown from this passage likewise. If it was the Father that sent forth the Son, there might be some color for making Son to mean a part of the Deity, but it was God, the whole Deity, that has sent forth his Son. This of course cannot be the Son, the second person of the Trinity, for he is the Son of only the Father and not of the whole Deity. Son then, so far as this passage is concerned, may be only a title of the Messiah, and have no respect to his nature. Above all does it give no countenance to such an expression as "God the Son." And whenever we meet with the expression "Son of God" applied to Christ, it is an evidence not in favor of the doctrine of the Trinity, but against it. A Son *of* God CANNOT be a person of a Trinity *in* God.

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The error of inventing such an expression as "God the Son," so unauthorized by the Bible, was made in consequence of mistaking the import of the expression, God the Father. "Father" is an epithet applied to Deity in the Scriptures, on account of his paternal relation to the universe, not to a person of a Trinity, but to the whole Deity, and is not as a correlative to God the Son. Thus in the expression, "Our Father which art in heaven." "One God and Father of all, who is above all." "To us there is but one God, the Father." This would not be true if there were another "God the Son." To make the thing more sure, Jesus Christ appears in the same sentence, not as "God the Son," but simply as "Lord," and that only in a subordinate and instrumental capacity. "One God, *of* whom are all things, and one Lord, *by* whom are all things." How he came to be Lord, Peter tells us in the Acts, when he says, "God hath *made* that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ." Now whatever Lordship Jesus Christ exercises, it is not inherent in his nature, but conferred on him by God. His Lordship then is not of a physical character over the universe, but merely of a moral and spiritual nature over the church, or over mankind. The Lord Jesus Christ then, an expression so often recurring in the New Testament, is so far from being equivalent to "God the Son," that there is an infinite distance between them. One is what God exalted Jesus of Nazareth to be, and the other is Deity.

Take one more example of the strange changes which the Trinitarian hypothesis leads us to make in the meanings of words, as they pass under our eye. In the last conversation of Jesus with his disciples, where he speaks of God as his Father, the mass of people consider him as speaking of the first person of a Trinity, not only without proof, but within sight of proof to the contrary. They read such passages as the following, without perceiving their bearing. "For the Father himself loveth you, because ye have loved me, and have believed that I came out from God. I came forth from the Father, and am come into the world; again I leave the world and go to the Father." God and Father are here evidently synonymous, and if so, all idea of a Trinity disappears, for the word, "Father," being coextensive with the word "God," includes the whole Deity. The person here spoken of came from God. Whereas the Trinitarian hypothesis is, that the second person of a Trinity was sent by the first.

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Be it understood, that we do not accuse our Episcopalian brethren of worshipping three Gods. We are confident, especially from the observation of the few last years, that Trinitarianism is fast subsiding into the mild form of Sabellianism in all denominations, and the language of Creeds and Liturgies remains to show rather what opinions *were* than what they *are*. We close by urging all, who are accustomed to worship "God the Son" and "God the Holy Ghost," to take their Bibles, and search them once more, and see whether they can find any such expressions in them. Then, when they have satisfied themselves on that point, let them examine if the Trinitarian hypothesis can be sustained in any other way, than by continually varying the meaning of the words "God" and "Father," from the whole Deity to a first person of a Trinity.

G. W. B.

SLAVERY.*

In the October number of the Southern Review, we find an elaborate and powerfully written vindication of slavery on Scriptural and *quasi* religious grounds. We propose in the following article to present an outline of that argument, and, so far as we may be able, to expose the fallacies on which it is based. We feel ourselves called to do this by the startling and dangerous character of the ground assumed, — a ground on which negro slavery is not excused or palliated, but legitimated as a divine institution, against which it is impious to contend. The argument in brief is this. When Noah recovered from that fit of intoxication, in which Ham, the father of Canaan, had treated him with gross indignity, he said, ***Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.*** He also said, ***Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.*** He said yet farther, ***God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.*** These blessings and curses

* The Southern Quarterly Review, October, 1842. Art. 3. — *Canaan identified with the Ethiopian.*

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were prophetically uttered by divine inspiration, and were uttered for all coming times. In fulfilment of these predictions, the posterity of Canaan have always been a servile race. They became the servants of Shem, when the Israelites subdued them, and made them *hewers of wood and drawers of water.* Of the Canaanites, subdued under Joshua, the modern Africans are the descendants, and lawful heirs of the patriarch's curse, the latter part of which has been and is now being fulfilled in our own land. For Japheth, that is, a nation of European extraction, here dwells in the tents of Shem, that is, where stood the wigwams of the Shem-descended North American Indians; and the said Japheth has been led in the course of divine Providence to transport Canaan, in the person of his sable descendants, to be his servant; nay more, Japheth has "even made Canaan *servant of servants,* by putting him under the delegated authority of overseers and others." For this office of servants God has fitted the descendants of Canaan both in body and soul. They come ready made slaves from the Creator's hands; and the anatomist and psychologist are constrained to admit that they bear ineffaceable marks of their menial destination. Slavery then is of God; the slave-trade is a pious calling; and anti-slavery is infidelity.

Such is the syllabus of a chain of argument, which covers more than sixty octavo pages. The subordinate heads of proof and illustration we shall cite in the sequel, with such comments as our limits will permit.

The whole argument rests on the postulate, that Noah's blessing and curse, on the occasion above referred to, were prophetical. That he uttered the blessing and the curse, we doubt not; nor do we doubt that the Jews, in their national hatred of the Canaanites, deemed them oracular. But that the Almighty has punished Ham's gross indecency, by imprinting marks of degradation and servitude upon all his son Canaan's posterity till the end of time, or that the Almighty selected a man, just waking from the brutal sleep of intoxication, to utter a prediction the most comprehensive, the farthest reaching of any in the Old Testament, we may emphatically say, *Credat* Judæus; for surely no sober-minded Christian can seriously breathe such reproach upon the divine justice and purity.

But admitting for the moment that these curses were prophetical, let us see how far they were fulfilled. The writer in the Southern Review introduces his argument with a precious

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morçeau of philological criticism, in which he claims for Noah's curse a *retrospective* fulfilment in the names of *Canaan* and *Ham*. The verb, from which *Canaan* is derived, literally denotes to *submit one's self*, to *bend the knee*; and by putting these, two definitions together, (though in common cases a word bears but one meaning at a time,) the very convenient signification of *self-submissive knee-bender* is obtained for *Canaan*. Now, unless the Almighty had intended that Canaan's posterity should be slaves forever, he would never have suffered Ham to have imposed upon his son a name, from which a reviewer of the nineteenth century could extract this double-distilled meaning. We are also told that "the Hebrew verb, from which the noun *Ham* is derived, signifies *generator* or *parent*, — also *hot*, and in the Coptic and other dialects *hot* and *black*, or *burnt black*," from which sentence we may infer, that Hebrew verbs correspond to both nouns and adjectives in other languages, as also that the Coptic is a dialect of the Hebrew, seeing that a Hebrew verb has a signification in the Coptic. The Hebrew verb, from which Ham is derived, means in *Hebrew, to be* or to *become warm*. We are not aware that this verb is used in the Coptic, though we find in our lexicons a Coptic adjective, probably of kindred derivation, which means *black*. But even if *Ham* does mean *warm* in the Hebrew, and *Chemi black* in the Coptic, what has all this to do with the question of negro slavery? No one doubts that Ham's posterity are both warm and black; but they are warmer and blacker in Guinea than in North America. If the name of their progenitor was prophetical, let then his posterity remain where they can best fulfil the prophecy.*

We come now to the alleged fulfilment of Noah's prophecy in the Canaanites, who were subdued under Joshua.

"Ham had more sons than Canaan, *the knee-bender*, but it does not appear that the duty of being *servant of servants* was obligatory on any other branch of Ham's family. Some of the other branches became distinguished for their arts and arms, but not the *knee-bender*, Canaan. We learn from the

* Our author, in defining the name of *Ham*, heaps upon the poor man's head all the meanings that he can find for the whole circle of cognate words. He makes Ham to denote the *parent or generator of the black race of men in hot climates!* The whole paragraph is a rare philological curiosity.

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Bible that the Jews, the descendants of Canaan, [probably misprinted for *Shem*,] made slaves of the Canaanites; that some were reduced to absolute slavery, and the others made tributaries. Instead of coming to Joshua in arms to fight for liberty, the Gibeonites and some other tribes of the land of Canaan submitted without a struggle, and, like true negroes, begged Joshua to make slaves of them. They even resorted to artifice to get the boon of slavery conferred upon them. See chap. ix. Joshua. Joshua made them *hewers of wood and drawers of water to this day*, say the Scriptures. These *hewers of wood and drawers of water* correspond, no doubt, to our domestic servants of the same race of people at the present day, and to the slaves of our mechanics and small farmers.

"But the great mass of the Canaanites were reduced to another species of slavery, evidently corresponding to the kind of slavery at present existing on our large plantations. Joshua divided the land among the twelve tribes of Israel. Each tribe reduced the negroes or Canaanites, which fell to its lot, to tributaries, who dwelt among them." — pp. 324, 325.

We are happy to learn that "the slaves on our large plantations" are merely "tributaries;" for what else can we infer from the paragraph just quoted? A tributary is a person, who, on condition of the periodical payment of a stipulated sum, is left to dispose of his time and industry at pleasure, and to enjoy without molestation whatever property he may in any way obtain. We had supposed that the time and industry of the plantation slaves were entirely at the arbitrary disposal of their masters; but are glad to be corrected on so high authority.

It is a mistake to suppose that the Gibeonites were subjected to domestic servitude. They were simply servants in and about the sanctuary and temple. Joshua's declaration to them is, "There shall none of you be freed from being bondmen and hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God." In the subsequent portions of Jewish history, we find the Gibeonites repeatedly referred to in connexion with the priests and Levites, as attached to the ecclesiastical establishment, but never as the servants or slaves of individuals; and the passage above quoted is the first intimation, that we have ever had, that they were subject to domestic service.

But the fate of the Gibeonites, whatever it was, was not that of the posterity of Canaan generally. Canaan had eleven

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sons, who became the heads of as many tribes; and the Gibeonites were but an insignificant branch of one of those tribes. Five of these tribes settled in Syria and Phœnicia, and had nothing to do with the wars of Joshua. The remaining six, with the exception of the Gibeonites, after protracted and at times successful struggles for supremacy, were made tributaries to the Israelites, some of them not however till the days of Solomon, four or five hundred years after the commencement of hostilities against them by Joshua.

It is assumed in the passage above quoted, that the Canaanites were negroes. Of this we have not the slightest proof; and, intimately as their history is interwoven with that of the Hebrews, it is surprising that the difference of color, if it existed, should not have been mentioned. Especially, if blackness had been a part of Canaan's curse, would it not have been specified as one of the grounds for subduing and enslaving his posterity? Or would not Moses and Joshua have sometimes appealed to the prejudice of color, in their efforts to procure an entire severance of sympathy between their people and the Canaanites? Would the Isrealites have been so prone to contract intermarriages with the Canaanites, as they always were from the days of Joshua to those of Ezra, had the barrier of a different skin been interposed? And in the frequent mention of such marriages in terms of reprobation by the sacred writers, must not some reference have been had to the mulatto issue of these connexions? Was Bathsheba black? Was Solomon a mulatto? His mother was the wife of Uriah the Hittite; and the Hittites were of the posterity of Canaan. Moreover the Phœnicians were descendants of Canaan, and Carthage was founded by a Phœnician colony. Was Cadmus black? Was Hannibal black? We do not know; for there is no mention made of their whiteness by any ancient historian. But how is it to be accounted for, that in the detailed narratives, which have come down to us of the Punic wars, no mention is made of the blackness of the Carthaginians, if they were black?

"Some of the other branches [of Ham's posterity] became distinguished for their arts and arms, but not the knee-bender, Canaan." There are a few trifling exceptions to this sweeping remark, which was no doubt intended to be taken *cum grano salis*. In the art of navigation the Phœnician descendants of Canaan took precedence of all the nations of antiquity, and controlled the commerce of the world. In some departments

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of mechanical art the Phœnicians were distinguished. Solomon, when about to build the temple, sent for workmen to the king of Tyre; "for," said he, "thou knowest that there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like unto the Sidonians." The letters, arts, and civilization of Greece have been generally traced to a Phœnician origin; and the alphabet used by our brethren of the Southern Review consists for the most part of "the letters Cadmus gave." The Phœnician cities and colonies were also renowned for various branches of manufacture; and the Tyrian purple, if elsewhere equalled, has never been surpassed. We had supposed too that the Carthaginian descendants of Canaan had attained some eminence in "arts and arms." The Romans certainly thought so, while the scales of victory so long wavered, and when the future empress of the world left of her own dead, on the plains of Cannæ, a number larger than that of the Carthaginian army. But we will say no more of Tyre and Sidon, or of Carthage, though, if the curse of Canaan were hereditary, they must have had their part of it.

How was it with regard to the Canaanites more immediately connected with the history of the Hebrews? Were they entitled to any renown in "arts and arms?" They were indeed ultimately subdued; but have we not ample evidence that they were brave and warlike, and that they had made a good degree of progress in the arts of life? The spies first sent by the Israelites into the land of Canaan reported: "The people be strong that dwell in the land, and the cities are walled and very great." Moses promises his people in that land "great and goodly cities, and houses full of all good things, wells, vineyards, and olive-trees." Moses again says to his people: "Hear, O Israel; Thou art to pass over Jordan, to go in to possess nations mightier than thyself, cities great and fenced up to heaven." Of the Amorites, one of the tribes descended from Canaan, God says, through the prophet Amos: "Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of the cedars, and he was strong as the oaks." The very same miraculous victories of Jericho and Ai, that induced the Gibeonites to make their fraudulent treaty of submission, roused all the other inhabitants of the land to prompt, vigorous, and persevering resistance, so that "they gathered themselves together to fight with Joshua and with Israel, with one accord." After the entire conquest of the host enlisted in that cam-

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paign, and the destruction of five kings, we are told of the surviving kings, that, undaunted by the series of splendid victories which Joshua had gained, "they went out, they and all their hosts with them, much people, even as the sand that is upon the sea-shore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many." Nearly two hundred years after the death of Joshua, we find the Israelites under cruel bondage to Jabin, king of Canaan, who "had nine hundred chariots of iron." The Jewish Scriptures throughout recognise the superior strength and prowess of the Canaanites, and ascribe their subjugation and destruction to divine interposition. Their constant testimony is that of the psalmist: "They [the Israelites] got not the land in possession by their own sword, neither did their own arm save them; but thy right hand, and thine arm, and the light of thy countenance, because thou hadst a favor unto them." So much for the "arts and arms" of "the knee-bender Canaan."

The identity of the present negro races with the Canaanites is the next point argued by the Southern Reviewer. To establish this point no historical testimony is adduced; but reliance is placed solely upon circumstantial evidence. The negro races, having no records or genealogical tables by which to trace their descent, cannot of course plead *not guilty* to the charge of being descended from Canaan, and the fact, that they are slaves, slaves in condition, slaves in bodily, mental, and moral constitution, is deemed amply sufficient to substantiate the charge. But Ham had three sons besides Canaan. Where are the posterity of Cush, Mizraim, and Phut? We are told by the Reviewer that the posterity of Canaan are always passive under slavery. Have the occasional insurrections among the slaves sprung from individuals of the other races enslaved by mistake? Were Cinquez and his brethren of Amistad fame descendants of Phut? Or was there an overlarge mingling of the seed of Cush among the negroes of St. Domingo? If the posterity of the four sons of Ham occupy together the continent of Africa, while the children of Canaan alone are created to be slaves, then must the supercargo of a slave-ship stand in need of special divine illumination, in order to know whom he shall purchase, and whom reject. It is impossible to trace historically the fate of the descendants of Canaan; but, as they were during the whole of their known history intimately connected in their fortunes with the posterity of Shem and Japheth, and as we have no proof that they were ever

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black, there is the strongest probability that they have become merged in the existing races of Europe and Asia. The fact, that the thunder-bolts of divine indignation have not yet fully avenged the guilt of negro slavery, may be a sufficient proof at the South, but can be nowhere else, that these negroes are of the doomed race of Canaan.

We will proceed now to examine the alleged marks of his bodily and mental physiology, by which the modern negro is said to be fitted for his menial condition, and by which alone it is attempted to prove his identity with Canaan.

First, we are told that "the nerves of the spinal marrow, and the abdominal viscera, being more voluminous than in other races, and the brain being ten per cent less in volume and in weight, he is, from necessity, more under the influence of his instincts, appetites, and *animality*, than other races of man, and less under the influence of his reflective faculties." This is undoubtedly true of the African races; but it is true, to a nearly equal degree, of the New Hollanders, of the Esquimaux, and of some of the islanders of the Pacific. But whether this physical inferiority is the cause or the effect of the condition, in which the blacks are placed, is an open question. Nations degenerate in their physical structure in consequence of long continued mental and moral degradation. The modern Greeks retain no traces of the superior physical organization, for which we have ample evidence that their ancestors were distinguished. In the old German settlements in the interior of our own country, there are but few physiological marks, which would identify the settlers with the highly intellectual race with which Germany is now peopled. The body is the soul's case of tools; and the tools, which the soul ceases to use, gradually dwindle in the case, but by use may be kept good or restored. But, if inferior organization be of itself a mark of servitude, why are the negro races the only races, whom it is lawful to enslave? One would think that the same consideration might justify the Caucasian race in seeking to enslave all the rest of mankind; and we expect to hear this argument reechoed from our mother country in justification of the vassalage, to which Great Britain has reduced her millions of Asiatic subjects.

We are next informed that a negro's eye "has an additional expansion of the semilunar membrane, or, in other words, an additional anatomical contrivance, consisting of a membranous wing expanded underneath a portion of the upper eyelid, and,

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when the eye is exposed to a bright light, this membranous wing covers a considerable portion of the globe of the eye." The divine purpose in furnishing this extra eyelid is to save slaveholders the expense of supplying their negroes with hats. "The master may forget or neglect to provide his slaves with a covering for the head, to shield the eyes from the brilliancy of the sun, while laboring in the fields. Such neglect would greatly increase the irksomeness of labor under a tropical sun, if God, in his goodness, had not provided the race of Canaan, whom he has doomed to slavery, with the above-mentioned anatomical contrivance or membranous wing, to protect the eyes against the brightness of the solar rays." We are not sufficiently versed in physiology, to confirm or deny this statement; but have consulted several standard scientific works without finding any reference to it. If the negro's eye be really thus constructed, we should regard it as a benign adaptation to the exposures of a tropical climate, as an adaptation much more necessary on the burning sands of Africa, than in the comparatively temperate climate of the Carolinas, and as a physiological feature tantamount to a mandate of Providence, that the Africans should be suffered to dwell upon their own soil. But one would think protection against neglect by their masters an entirely superfluous provision; for we are afterwards told, that "the patriarchal form of government, to which the race of Canaan in the South is subjected, is precisely the same form of government to which the abolitionists subject their wives and children." Now, we doubt, whether the wives and children of our abolitionist friends are in need, even on the hottest summer's day, of an extra eyelid, for lack of suitable covering for the head. We happen to know the wives and daughters of several zealous and devoted abolitionists, and have seen them as sumptuously provided as any other ladies with bonnets and parasols.

We are next told that the Creator has lodged in the negro's nature a principle of protection against the exactions of a hard master, by making it impossible to force from him more than a moderate amount of service. "It is a well known fact, that no four slaves in Virginia or Kentucky can be forced to do as much daily labor, as any three ordinary laborers of the race of Japheth in Pennsylvania or Ohio voluntarily impose upon themselves." This, we doubt not, is true. For, in the free laborer, the soul strengthens the body. The motive, which

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inspires his efforts, nerves his arm. He is laboring to keep bright the chain of family affection, and to shield from suffering souls dearer than his own. He is laboring to gain or keep a high and worthy place among the members of the community in which he lives. These moral stimuli augment to an indefinite degree his power of effort and endurance. But take these away, and the white laborer is as inefficient as the black. It is impossible in our penitentiaries to make a prisoner do the work of a freeman. Probably no indented apprentice ever did as much for his master during the last year of his minority, as for himself the first year of his labor on his own account. Pay a man beforehand, or set him to work out an old debt; and the best of our Northern laborers will give you a practical illustration of the deadening influence of slavery upon the physical energies. Some good or reward in prospect is essential, in order to procure the *maximum* result of labor. This principle, it seems from the article before us, operates among the blacks. For, though the Reviewer contends that a negro cannot be overworked, and that no privation or severity can make him do for his master more than three fourths of a white man's daily work, he informs us that the slaves will do extra work on their own account, and that "very few, on our plantations, fail to make less than from ten to an hundred dollars per annum, by raising poultry, making baskets, brooms, gathering moss, &c."

The next topic of remark in the article before us is the oppression and extortion, to which the operatives are subjected in the manufacturing districts of England, — a system that works ill, because it makes Japheth serve Japheth, which is contrary to the divine ordinance. We are told that the English operatives have no principle of self-protection against an exacting master, and can therefore be overworked. This is too true. They are bound by the law, though devoid of the privileges, of free labor. The only good that they know, the scanty food, with which soul and body are to be kept together, they can procure solely by the last degree of toil. They are bound by permanent domestic ties, and the life of those, whom they tenderly love, depends upon their labor. They must either work themselves to death, or starve to death; and, in the latter alternative, the catastrophe is immediate and sure, while in the former, it is somewhat remote and involved in some degree of doubt. Thus the moral motive, which lies at the basis of free

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labor, exists and operates in those slaughter-houses of Great Britain, to which our Southern brethren are but too well entitled to look for something more vile and cruel than negro slavery.

But it seems that our free laborers at the North are indebted to slavery for their high wages. "Nothing whatever prevents capitalists from reducing the wages of labor in the United States to a level with the wants of the working classes, or below that level, but our peculiar Southern institutions. While these institutions exist, the wages for labor must, from necessity, be above the level of the daily wants, or slaves would become valueless; and the high price of labor in the Southern States keeps up the wages of labor in the Northern States." We cannot yield our assent to this reasoning. There is not a sufficient amount of white labor at the South to regulate the price of labor for the country. There is no competition between the Northern and the Southern market in the article of labor. Low wages at the North do not drive the Northern laborers to the Southern States; nor, when wages at the North are high and the demand for labor brisk, is it from the South that the supply or any portion of it comes. There are three principal causes for the high rate of wages in the free States. The first is the incessant and growing demand for labor, resulting from the constant activity and enterprise of a population, the great majority of whom are engaged in productive industry, and from the simultaneous construction of many extensive works of internal improvement in various parts of the country. The second is the vast quantity of land, which may be obtained on our Western frontiers at a merely nominal price, and which so constantly invites emigration from the older States, as to keep the supply of labor generally within the demand, notwithstanding the large importations of foreigners continually made. And, thirdly, the wages of labor are tacitly regulated by the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries, which the laborer might earn for himself as a new settler in the Western forests, with scarcely any capital but his industry.

The next ground of argument is the fact, that the slaves are entirely contented with their condition, and have no desire for freedom. Is it so? Then has slavery done its whole work. The chains are upon the soul. The lowest degradation is that of which its subject is unconscious; and it is to this point that "the patriarchal form of government, to which the race of

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Canaan in the South is subjected," has been constantly tending. This is a result, which must be signally aided by the general prohibition to the slaves of the means of education, by the laws, which make it a capital offence to teach a negro to read, by the looseness of domestic relations, which the system renders necessary, and by the licentiousness, in which the perpetually whitening skin of the Southern negroes proves the white population to be partners. Yet we doubt whether the point of perfect contentment has yet been reached. We are told, indeed, "that the promise of freedom, so far from being an incentive to increased exertion, almost invariably has the opposite effect, making them more trifling and inefficient during the time of service." This effect we once heard described by a slave, who had procured his own liberation from bondage; and his words were nearly these: "When I once got the idea of liberty, it was so constantly on my mind, that I could not work; no, not with the certainty of being whipped for laziness. My hands would drop to my side without my knowing it, and I would stand or lie like a person dreaming for hours together."

But we are told that the slaves are not inclined to insurrection, and "that nothing more than temporary neighborhood disturbances have ever occurred among this kind of peasantry, under the most trying and tempting circumstances, in the most exciting and alarming times." This statement needs qualification. There have indeed been no ultimately successful negro revolts; but there have been several extensive plans of insurrection, laid with great skill and judgment, and conducted by leaders of high resolve and ardent self-devotion to the cause of liberty. Many of our readers must remember the thrill of horror that ran through the whole country, when, in 1823, there was discovered among the slaves in Charleston, South Carolina, a plot for a general massacre of the whites and the burning of the city. Niles's Register, a Southern Journal, says of this: "The plot seems to have been well devised, its operation was extensive, and its intent terrific." It was discovered on the eve of execution, and resulted in the arrest of more than a hundred and thirty negroes, of whom thirty-five were executed, and twenty-one transported. The secrecy with which this revolt had been planned, and the skill and courage of the ringleaders, left upon the population of Charleston a dread of servile violence, which a score of years has hardly obliterated, and led to legislation of great severity against the instruction of

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the slaves, and for the abridgment of liberties and facilities of intercourse which they had before possessed. The Virginia rebellion of 1831 was much more than a "neighborhood disturbance." The whites then massacred fell few, if any, short of a hundred; the blacks concerned in the insurrection amounted to six or eight hundred, most of them mounted and well armed; the militia retreated before them; and they were finally routed only by the aid of United States troops. The article under review was written "on the banks of the Lake Concordia, in the midst of an extensive neighborhood, where the race of Canaan outnumber the white man nearly an hundred to one." The writer draws quite an Arcadian picture of the security, in which this handful of whites dwell, with unfastened doors, among, what he is very fond of calling, "the peasantry of the South," and says that in this spot "peace, quietude, plenty, and comfort have had an uninterrupted reign." Now this "Lake Concordia" is in the very extensive parish of Concordia, Louisiana, and, by a curious coincidence, on the very day on which we received the number of the Southern Review before us, we found quoted from a New Orleans paper the following article.

"Considerable excitement prevails in the neighboring parishes of Concordia, Madison, and Carroll, in consequence of the discovery of a contemplated rising of the negroes. It appears that there are now, in the swamps of that region, about three hundred runaway negroes, belonging to the parishes named, all of whom, it is presumed, are armed. Some fifteen or twenty have been arrested and examined, and from the facts elicited on the examination, it is believed that an insurrection was contemplated about Christmas. The plot seems to have been extensive, embracing in its operation negroes of nearly every plantation in the three parishes." *

Were there need, we could multiply to a volume melancholy evidence of this nature, to prove that the slaves are not passive and contented in their bondage, and that our unfortunate white brethren of the South are treading upon elements of fearful conflagration, which a mere spark may kindle. What a comment do facts like these furnish upon our author's assertion,

* A district nearly or quite as large as the State of Rhode Island.

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that "in slavery, the race of Canaan, in general, is the happiest race of men in existence!"

We are told, in order to prove that slavery is a peaceful and happy state, that English laborers break each other's heads, which the slaves never do, and that "surgical or artificial diseases" abound among the laboring classes in Great Britain, as the result of overworking, while they are seldom found among the Southern slaves. That the blacks are not quarrelsome among themselves, is certainly an amiable feature in their character, and must render their condition much less irksome, than if mutual feuds and jealousies were added to the restraints of bondage. But if pacific dispositions mark a slavish spirit, to how degraded a condition of humanity are we looking forward, when we pray for the universal prevalence of "peace upon earth and good will among men!" As to *surgical diseases*, we should suppose that agricultural laborers would be far less liable to them, (however hard their labor or their fare,) than the thousands of human beings, who in England wear out their lives in crowded factories, where their mode of labor keeps them perpetually in a constrained posture, and cramps more sets of muscles than it puts in play, while the very air they breathe carries a scrofulous taint to their blood. But *accidents* must be alarmingly frequent at the South; for a large proportion of the slaves named in advertisements in Southern newspapers are spoken of as marked by scars, or burns, or shot-wounds, or as deprived of fingers, toes, teeth, or ears. These things of course cannot be the marks of harsh treatment from their masters; for we do not observe similar injuries and defects in the persons of the "wives and children of abolitionists," and "the patriarchal form of government," under which the slaves live, corresponds "precisely" to the domestic *regime* of our abolitionist brethren.

Our author reiterates in various forms the assertion, that liberty is a curse to the blacks, that they are incapable of enjoying freedom, and that "unhappiness and discontent," and "the malediction of heaven," follow them whenever they escape from bondage. "There is not a free negro in the whole North, who does not afford direct and positive proof of the truth of an important part of the Bible. Whether called servants, freemen, or gentlemen, if the free negroes, North or South, are serving the people, they are among us as barbers, shoe-blacks, waiters, cooks, &c. They are more or less happy and contented, be-

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cause such offices are in the line of duties assigned them in the revealed word of God; but if they are not serving, if they are not acting in obedience to that Scriptnre, which says, they shall live in servitude, but presume, against God's command, to set up for themselves in any business which is not essentially servile, they are, almost without an exception, the most unhappy, discontented wretches in existence, disturbing the peace of society, filling the prisons, taxing the country, and a nuisance to the neighborhoods around them." That free blacks at the North occupy a disadvantageous position, and are seldom found in the higher walks of business and enterprise, is undoubtedly true; for the prejudice of color is even stronger here than at the South; and neither the initiatory steps, nor the necessary facilities for a professional or mercantile life, are open to a negro. Into what counting-room or law office could a black clerk or student be received? Or if some zealous abolitionist should take a colored youth into his place of business, the contumely, with which he would be treated on all hands, would soon discourage him from prosecuting the enterprise in which he had embarked. At some of our literary institutions a colored lad could not gain admission; and at others, a student with a darker skin than the rest is petted and paraded as a *rara avis*, instead of being placed on a level with his fellow students. Men in the higher walks of business have frequent occasion to travel, and must travel as the equals and companions of the other members of their own professions. But the interior of a stage-coach, the steamboat cabin and table, the accommodations of a genteel hotel, the ease and comfort of railroad carriages, have all been denied to the negro. We have ourselves seen a highly respectable colored clergyman compelled to take his seat on the outside of a coach for a day's ride, in a driving storm of rain, when there were but three inside passengers; and it is not long, since a colored editor, a graduate of one of our Eastern colleges, and his wife, a genteel and well educated young woman of his own color, lost their lives by rapid consumption, the direct result of a wintry night's exposure on the deck of a steamboat, because a person of their color could not be tolerated in either of the cabins. With these drawbacks and discouragements, the wonder is that one in ten thousand should make the attempt to rise above employments both stationary and menial. Yet in some instances the attempt has been successfully made. There have been in the Northern

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and Middle States, several colored clergymen of high standing, and respectable talents and attainments. In Philadelphia, there are not a few negroes, who have acquired ample fortunes, have surrounded themselves with the refinements and elegancies of high life, and educated their children genteelly and thoroughly. There sailed, not long since, from New Bedford, a whale ship, of which the owner, master, officers, and crew were all negroes. The recent abolition movement has called out many black orators; and it may be fairly doubted, whether they have not borne away the palm of eloquence from their white associates. We have till recently had little faith in the reports that had reached us concerning negro eloquence; but Messrs. Douglas and Remond effectually dispersed our doubts a few weeks ago. We have seldom heard better specimens of oratory, both as to manner, style, and matter; and, could we have listened with our eyes shut, we might easily have supposed ourselves listening to acknowledged masters of the persuasive art. And then, as for the (so called) menial employments, in which the free blacks are commonly found, why are they universally preferred in these capacities to white men, even by the avowed despisers of the black race? It is on account of their unvarying promptness, diligence, and fidelity, qualities which make any station honorable, and without which free labor loses all its dignity and moral worth. These qualities, ample experience has shown that the blacks can retain in a state of freedom. In the language of Scripture, they "are faithful in few things;" but "who will make them rulers over many," to give them the opportunity of testing their fidelity on a larger scale, and in a higher sphere?

For ourselves, we have seen among the blacks at the North, (downtrodden as they are on the one hand, and injudiciously flattered on the other,) so much of contented industry, honesty, and good thrift, the very best traits which can mark the character of a free man, as to give us great confidence in their capacity for self-government and for rapid progress, under propitious circumstances and with a career fairly open before them. And the history of African colonization thus far shows us, that this confidence is not misplaced. There have grown up on the coast of Africa, within the memory of most of our readers, civilized, intelligent, and Christian communities, which would not suffer by comparison with most of our New England villages. They have magistrates and lawgivers of their own color. They

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live under wholesome laws of their own making. They have their own churches, schools, and lyceums, well attended and liberally supported. They have already individuals among them, extensively engaged both in agriculture and in commerce, and possessed of large estates, the fruit of their own industry and enterprise. They are opposing a formidable and in many instances a successful barrier to the slave-trade, and are gradually diffusing among the natives of the Continent the ideas, arts, and laws of Christian society. There have indeed been instances of gross vice and profligacy among the colonists; but where are not such instances to be found? There have been spies, who have made an evil report of the land; but how many scores of foreign travellers have carried back a vile report of our own blessed New England, we will leave it for the Reviewers to say. On the whole, the balance of testimony with regard to the African colonies, (most of it, be it remembered, testimony which comes to us through Southern hands, and therefore unimpeachable as regards the fitness of the negroes for self-government,) establishes beyond the shadow of a doubt the capacity of the African race to administer, enjoy, adorn, and perpetuate the institutions of free government, learning, and religion.

The only remaining topic of argument in the Southern Review, which we feel constrained now to notice, has reference to our wars with Great Britain, in which slave-labor proved itself "*the sinews of war*," and during which "the history of the United States abounds with instances, displaying the protecting hand of a superintending Providence, upholding the slave-holders in the darkest hours of trial, and leading them on to victory, to fame, and to glory." The slaves "have an instinct in their nature, making their masters' enemies their enemies, and their masters' friends their friends. Hence, in the war of the Revolution, they had no sympathy or feeling in common with abolition tories, or British and Hessian prisoners. They knew them to be their masters' enemies; that was enough to make them their enemies also. It was this instinct in Canaan's nature, which *enabled the South to send so many more warriors into the field than the North.* The Northern men may be equally brave and patriotic, but while they are battling for their country, their families may be suffering, their hired servants may desert them, or prove treacherous. Whereas, the slave-holders, on leaving home to fight for their

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country, know, if their domestic affairs do not go on as well in their absence as if they were at home, that their families will not suffer, that their slaves will continue to serve them, and be the first to give the alarm, in the event of an approach of an enemy, and help them to get out of his reach." Again, "Negro slavery is *the accursed thing* which enabled the American colonies, without money or credit, to prosecute successfully a seven years' war against the greatest power on earth, and so far from the Southern people having their hands full at home, in keeping their slaves in subjection, *they actually furnished a larger number of soldiers, in proportion to their population, than any other people in the Union.*" Moreover, "*the great captains, who shed the most glory on the American arms, in both the wars with England, were from the South.*"

Now we, firmly believing all wars, even the most righteous, to be opposed to the law and the spirit of the Gospel, should regard these statistics, if true, as affording no apology for slavery. Did we believe slave-labor to be "the sinews of war," it would only give us new zeal in the cause of emancipation. But there was, in the war of the Revolution, a moral, a Christian element, that of self-sacrifice; and our author is right in maintaining that there was much less of this in the Southern soldiery, whose estates would suffer nothing by their absence, than among the patriots of the North, who left the farm, the forge, or the workshop, where they had supported themselves and their families by the labor of their own hands. Yet this element of self-sacrifice is never wanting among men, when it is earnestly appealed to, and always grows with the demand upon it. Such was the case in the war of the Revolution to so eminent a degree, that the statistics of that war are diametrically opposed to the statements italicized in the preceding paragraph. During the Revolutionary war, Virginia was nearly twice as populous as Massachusetts, and more than three times as populous as Connecticut; but Massachusetts furnished between two and three times as many soldiers as Virginia, and Connecticut nearly thirty per cent more than Virginia. The population of North Carolina was larger than that of Massachusetts, more than fifty per cent larger than that of Connecticut, and nearly three times that of New Hampshire; but Massachusetts furnished more than nine times, Connecticut more than four times, and New Hampshire nearly twice the number of soldiers that North Carolina did. The population

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of the Southern States then exceeded a million and a half, while the population of New England was less than a million, and that of the Middle States about the same. New England furnished more than one half of the army, and the Southern States furnished but an insignificant fraction more than the Middle States. The proportion of soldiers to the whole population, (taking the average of the years from 1775 to 1783 inclusive,) was in the Southern States a little more than one fourth of what it was in New England, and a little less than one half of what it was in the Middle States. Of the Southern States, Maryland supplied the greatest number of soldiers in proportion to her population; but her proportion was less than one third of that of Massachusetts, was exceeded by all the Northern and Middle States except Delaware, and nearly equalled by Delaware.

By "the great captains" are meant, no doubt, the generals of our armies. We have before us lists of the generals of the Continental army in 1776 and in 1783. Besides the Commander-in-chief, there were, in 1776, four Major Generals, one Adjutant General, and eight Brigadier Generals. Of the Major Generals the South furnished but one, New England two, and New York one. Of the Brigadier Generals New England furnished all but one, and he was from New York. The Adjutant General was from Virginia, making, with the Commander-in-chief, three Generals from the Southern States, while four were from Massachusetts alone. In 1783, there were fifteen Major Generals, and twenty-one Brigadier Generals. Of the Major Generals, five were from New England, three were from the Middle States, four from the Southern States, and three were foreigners. Of the Brigadier Generals, six were from New England, six from the Middle, and nine from the Southern States. As regards military fame, we feel ourselves incompetent to decide which of these "great captains shed the most glory on American arms;" but we had supposed that (Washington alone excepted) no Southern names took precedence in the annals of the Revolution of those of Putnam, Montgomery, Sullivan, Greene, Knox, and Stark.

We here close our analysis of the article, which we have taken for our text, having discussed every prominent head of argument, and given, as we think, an entirely fair statement of the whole chain of reasoning. But there are a few general

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remarks, which we would offer concerning the ground assumed in this article. We would first advert to the contrast, which it presents to the current of common opinion at the South on the subject of slavery in former years. The *abolition* doctrines emphatically so called have always been Southern doctrines until very recently. Among the earliest Abolition Societies in this country were extensive organizations under that express name in the slave-holding States themselves. We have before us a Memorial to Congress, in 1791, from the "Virginia Society for the Abolition of Slavery," containing the following words, which he, who should now write or utter south of Mason's and Dixon's line, would probably seal them with his blood: "Slavery is not only an odious degradation, but an outrageous violation of one of the most essential rights of human nature, utterly repugnant to the precepts of the Gospel, and inconsistent with true policy and the inalienable rights of man." We have also similar memorials from the Baltimore, Chestertown, and Caroline County Abolition Societies, in Maryland, founded on the principle of "avowed enmity to slavery in every form." These anti-slavery professions were currently made in Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky, for nearly forty years, not only by avowed philanthropists, but in not a few legislative speeches and reports; nor was there in the more Southern States any strong expression of opinion in favor of slavery, but rather a demand for its tolerance as a necessary evil. Meanwhile, a vast amount of pro-slavery legislation was smuggled through Congress by the apathy of the North, and the very seat of government was gradually made the great slave mart of the Union. But when people at the North began to take Southern abolitionists at their word, and to demand of them conduct in correspondence with their professions, then the tone was changed at once, and slavery became, from a burden grevious to be borne, a pet institution, the pride and glory of the land, and in accordance with the law of nature and of God. We condemn the violent and denunciatory spirit, in which this slave-holders have been of late years assailed from the North; but would suggest that the tergiversation of the South upon the subject, (on which a large amount of earnest sympathy and ardent coöperation was reasonably anticipated from that quarter, when the present Abolition movements commenced at the North,) accounts for and palliates in some degree the severe and acrimonious spirit, which has marked our anti-slavery sayings and doings.

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We would next remark, that the reasoning of the article under review, even if sound, does not apply to slavery as it now is. It dooms to slavery the posterity of Canaan alone, not the mingled seed of Canaan and Japheth. Noah did not by his curse bind the daughters of Canaan to bear to Japheth children, whom he should make slaves. And if Japheth was the special subject of Noah's blessing, then does the mulatto stand between the blessing and the curse, and the quadroon and every lighter shade of complexion are partakers of the blessing, and are ordained to be slave-holders and not slaves. We see not how our brethren of the Southern Review can escape this inference, or do otherwise than advocate as a religious duty the immediate emancipation of all, who have in their veins more of Japheth's than of Canaan's blood. But this is a process, which would free half the slaves in the country. Northern people, who visit the South, are full of amazement at the light complexion of the slave population generally, and are perpetually taking for white men and women people, whom they ascertain to be slaves. The slave Latimer, whose case has produced such a ferment in Virginia, might pass anywhere for a white man. At least, so it seemed to us, as we saw him in a brilliantly lighted hall, and at a distance of about fifteen feet. He was sitting on a stage with several negroes; and, until he was introduced as the hero of the evening, we took him for some white youth, who for his meritorious services had been exalted to the negro's seat. His countenance is intelligent and handsome; his eye clear and expressive; his hair long and black, with but a slight twist or curliness, just enough to hint a remote cousinhood to the wool of the African race. He gave a brief narrative of the feelings, that prompted him to seek his liberty; and it betrayed that native dignity of soul, that self-consciousness of a right to freedom, that impatience of arbitrary rule, however merciful, in which the posterity of Japheth claim a wide distinction between themselves and the African race.

But the reasoning of the Southern Review, while it would free half the slaves that now are, justifies the slave-trade, nay, makes it an imperative duty, a duty of Christian philanthropy. If the Africans are the descendants of Canaan, if they are happy in no condition but that of slavery, and if they are destined by the decree of God to serve Japheth "in the tents of Shem" forever, then does the slave-ship sail on a humane and pious errand, and every friend of man should wish her a Godspeed.

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And, as no human legislation can make void the law of God, our fellow-citizens at the South are worthy of all praise for still conducting this traffic, though the civilized nations of the earth, in their ungodly counsels, have agreed to declare it piracy. That the slave-trade is still pursued to some extent from the South we infer from the statement in the article, which has been the subject of our comments, that "in the Southern States, particularly in Louisiana, there are many African-born Canaanites."

One word more. Our brethren at the South are seeking to legitimate slavery and the slave-trade by appeals to the Bible, as the fundamental and supreme law of the world, and particularly to the Pentateuch, as containing under divine sanction the germs of that "patriarchal system," by which the African race is made to serve them. Let them not then take it amiss, that we at the North should share in their reverence for God's revealed word, and for that portion of the divine law which Moses wrote. Let them bear with us, should we hereafter obey, as we undoubtedly shall, the precept recorded in Deuteronomy xxiii. 15, 16: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him." Surely our fellow-citizens at the South will not claim a monopoly of piety. While they take their position upon the Bible, they will, we trust, give us their support and sympathy in obeying one of its plainest and clearest commandments.

We may perhaps in some future Number present our views of the position and duties of the North with regard to slavery; and we know not how better to close the present article, than by the closing piece in Mr. Longfellow's "Poems on Slavery," which we should have made the subject of a more prolonged notice, had we not been anticipated in the last Number. The piece is entitled "The Warning."

"Beware! the Israelite of old, who tore
The lion in his path, — when, poor and blind,
He saw the blessed light of heaven no more,
Shorn of his noble strength and forced to grind
In prison, and at last led forth to be
A pander to Philistine revelry, —

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"Upon the pillars of the temple laid
His desperate hands, and in its overthrow
Destroyed himself, and with him those, who made
A cruel mockery of his sightless woe, —
The poor, blind slave, the scoff and jest of all,
Expired, and thousands perished in the fall!

"There is a poor, blind Samson in this land,
Shorn of his strength, and bound in bonds of steel,
Who may, in some grim revel, raise his hand,
And shake the pillars of this Commonweal,
Till the vast Temple of our liberties
A shapeless mass of wreck and rubbish lies."

A. P. P.

TO-MORROW.

FROM THE SPANISH OF LOPE DE VEGA.

Lord, what am I, that, with unceasing care,
Thou didst seek after me, — that thou didst wait,
Wet with unhealthy dews, before my gate,
And pass the gloomy nights of winter there?
O strange delusion! — that I did not greet
Thy blest approach, and O, to Heaven how lost,
If my ingratitude's unkindly frost
Has chilled the bleeding wounds upon thy feet.

From the Voices of the Night.

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SONNET,

ON DANNECKER'S STATUE OF THE REDEEMER.

"THANKS to Mrs. Jameson's 'Sketches in Germany,' which made us acquainted with it, we had at Stuttgard the pleasure of seeing a fine statue, representing our Saviour, by Dannecker. It has under it this inscription only, in German: 'Through me to the Father.' I can best describe the effect it produced on us, by transcribing for you a Sonnet, which my young friends think expresses their feelings, as well as my own. Dannecker believed himself inspired for the work by a celestial vision, but prepared himself for it by the diligent study of the Record of our Lord's ministry."—*Letter from an English Lady.*

"THROUGH ME UNTO THE FATHER!" 'T is thy voice
Breathes from the stone, my Saviour! I would bend
In reverence before thee, and attend
To all thy words, and make thy way my choice.
Thou wast a man of sorrows, and thy frame
Bent 'neath the cross, but yet a godlike grace
Is with thee, and from forth that hallowed face
Beam wisdom, meekness, and the love that came
To save mankind. Was it a mortal's thought,
That gave the marble moulding so divine?
Or did a bright celestial vision shine
Upon the sculptor's soul? Surely he caught
From the Redeemer's life a heavenly ray,
Then stamped the living image on the clay.

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THE EARLY LITERARY HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

NO. I.

THE FIRST NOTICES OF CHRISTIANITY BY ITS ENEMIES.

The early literary history of Christianity presents several points of great interest, in relation to its records and its evidences. We propose to discuss them as briefly as their importance will admit.

We anticipate the common objection, that the Christian records and evidences are involved in darkness and obscurity, by first denying the fact, that is to the extent to which its assertion is often carried; and then by accounting for the fact, as far as it is a fact, on the simplest principles of good reason and common sense. Random assertions on such subjects are easily made, and do the same harm to general interests that slander does to private character. They are to be guarded against by exceeding caution, or by just censure, as the case may require.

There is no insurmountable objection presented by history in the way of the admission of the divine origin of Christianity. The faith, which has been so splendidly adorned, and so thoroughly illustrated in the literature of eighteen centuries, does not fail, nor is it feeble in its early literature. Times without number has the whole ground been critically surveyed by honest and learned men, with the most entire satisfaction. Yet it has often been urged that there should have been no difficulty, which it requires learning and skill to remove, put in the way of the simple or the doubting. It is assumed by some that a revelation from God should not require the exercise of human ingenuity and skill.

This assumption would justify us in expecting the fruits of the earth without labor, or a knowledge or regard of natural laws. If we have intelligence, skill, and reason, with which to resolve difficulties, we may attain in the use of them the same clear faith, which we should have had, had there been no difficulties in our way, while the very process of surmounting difficulties invigorates and exercises our minds.

We have said thus much in deference to a common opinion,

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too often allowed to be reasonable, that Christian antiquity is perplexed with insolvable enigmas, with dark secrets, and that the utmost ingenuity is baffled in its exercise. This opinion is a mere bug-bear, — a scare-crow, which men are frightened at after having made it themselves. Difficulties, which tax our patience and teaze our curiosity, undoubtedly there are. But there are infinitely fewer difficulties concerning the origin of our faith, than concerning any other subject which comes near to it in antiquity. Who can tell us anything satisfactory concerning the history of Egypt, — the Hindoo religion, — the ancient chronology, — the birth-place of Homer, — the tomb of Scipio Africanus, — what route Hannibal took in crossing the Alps, — or concerning the thousand vexed questions of antiquity, which might be named? They all have their difficulties. Christian history has its difficulties, but they are all of little importance, of very little importance, compared with those transcendant facts which are stamped ineffaceably upon the annals of the world.

One more remark may be made in relation to the difficulties of an historical character, in the way of verifying the contents of the New Testament. An objector says, it requires a knowledge of books to explain the questions and uncertainties which arise. Very true. But whence come these questions, uncertainties, and objections? They come from books too. The large majority of unbelievers offer their objections at second hand. They know nothing about the matter from their own inquiries. Those unbelievers, who originally move the objections, obtain them by reading and study. Now if books create the objections, it is perfectly, completely, and thoroughly fair that books should settle the objections. For the old maxim is a true one, that that is a poor rule which will not work both ways. Show us an objection to the truth of Christianity which does not come from books, and without books we will answer it; but if you search books for your objections, we must use books for our reply.

We wish to know how Christianity first presented itself to those, who were out of the reach of oral instruction from the lips of its inspired teachers. The methods by which it first became known were by hearsay reports, and by the circulation of written documents. We look then to the Christian era, and after allowing sufficient time for the religion to become known in a narrow, and then in a wider sphere, we look for notices of it,

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at first indistinct, vague, and superficial, and then more at large and exact in the writings of subsequent times. Now it is certainly supposable, that our religion might have come down to us without any records at all. We could not declare beforehand that, if God should make a revelation to men, those who were his commissioned servants, after preaching the religion and planting its roots firmly in the world, would likewise write several memoirs and letters concerning it. This they might do, or they might leave undone, without at all affecting the truth of their religion, or putting it out of the power of subsequent generations to know of it, or to believe in it. It is certainly supposable, that Christianity might have been transmitted to our day by oral tradition, without any records whatever; or it might have had records written by those who had received it through one or more generations, — not by its original witnesses. All this is supposable, and therefore, if we found any disposed to complain of scanty Christian records, we would ask him, what should hinder but that the religion might have been transmitted with no records at all, just as the knowledge of many of the most important arts, sciences, and customs is transmitted with no records at all? The art of building, — of managing children, — of tilling the earth, — of weaving, — and various other subjects of human ingenuity and knowledge, are perpetuated by word of mouth, from father to son, from mother to child. Why might not the same process have perpetuated our religion? Some one may say that there are books on all the subjects which have been specified. Very true, there are; — but very few people read them. And there have been multitudes of good Christians; indeed, we may say, there have been many good Christian ministers, in the church of the early times and of the middle ages, who never owned or perused a copy of the Scriptures. Probably not more than one tenth part of the Christians now living have ever read the whole of the New Testament. Therefore we might say to any, who should complain of the scantiness of Christian records, — be thankful for what you have, for you have more than you had any right to expect, — more, indeed, than is absolutely necessary. And if any one is anxious to inquire for some proofs of the especial care of Providence for the interests of Christianity in this respect of its records, we may adduce some of these proofs; first, as regards the number; second, as regards the preservation of early writings, or notices of the Christians. There are four

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Gospels, — one apostolical history, — twenty-one epistles addressed to the first Christian churches, or ministers, — and one book of Christian visions. There is no reason to suppose that a single line written by the hand of an apostle has been lost, and there is the most wonderful and sufficient proof, that we read their works as they left them behind them. We shall, by and bye, read the remarkable passage in the historian Tacitus, bearing the most unquestionable testimony to the numbers, the savage persecution, and fortitude of the Christians, in the lifetime of St. Paul, and the beautiful passage in Pliny's Letters upon their faith, their worship, and their sufferings. Now if we can ever detect special providences, we may in these instances. How should it happen that, when the annals and history of Tacitus, the Roman writer, are preserved to us only in a mutilated state, we should read, incorrupt and in its proper place, the invaluable testimony to Christianity? Again, a large part of Pliny's writings are lost, but the passage in which he refers to Christianity is found in the letters which remain.

He, who, familiar with the transmission of intelligence now-a-days by printing, by daily journals and books, and a taste for reading, should reason back upon these premises to ancient times and records, would soon find himself involved in many errors. We must remember that records, in ancient times, were comparatively very few, very costly, and but little read. They were subject to all sorts of dangers, from which printed books are safe. More than all, we must remember that if a book or record is lost, the next best substitute we can have for it, is a well authenticated extract made from it, by one who wrote before it was lost, who had known of it, and used it.

We are thus led to ask for the earliest literary records of the appearance of Christianity, — the first mention of it on the part of friends or foes. These records do come both from friends and foes; that is, from those who wrote in favor of Christianity, and from those who notice it without being its disciples. For the sake of methodical and distinct treatment, this whole subject may be parcelled out into the five following divisions, which we shall consider in succession.

1. The indistinct and superficial notices of Christianity which we might expect from its first chance observers.

2. The date, authorship, and preservation of its own records.

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3. The writings of Christians contemporary with the apostles, and immediately following them.

4. The distinct, particular, and unquestionable notices of Christianity, drawn from Heathen authors, who observed its presence, and its struggles.

5. The first open attacks upon Christianity.

We now ask if there remain for our use any indistinct or superficial notices of Christianity, in its first appearance, made by those who knew but little of it, and cared nothing at all, as to believing in it?

Let us start with the caution which we need in all our inquiries, that we be reasonable and candid; that we indulge no vague fancies, and demand nothing which is at variance with common experience, and the character of men as we know and estimate it.

At first thought we might expect that the moment Christianity appeared in the world, it would excite universal commotion, and draw universal attention. Is this expectation reasonable? No; for it will not abide the test of experience, and of our knowledge of man. The origin of Christianity was humble; — it never sought to draw attention for the mere sake of attention. It sprung up in a despised province, among a despised people, tributary to a foreign nation. All sorts of superstitions then prevailed, together with general immorality, idolatry, and reluctance to make a serious examination of any new religion. We know that even now there are multitudes of Jews, Mahomedans, and heathens, who have an idea of what Christianity is, but do not feel concerned to examine whether it be true or false; — and this in spite of its being the religion of the best parts of the world. How then can we expect that heathens, either in or near Judea, or distant from it, who heard of Christianity, as they did constantly of other wonders, by common report, should have turned their whole attention to it, in spite of their prejudices against it? Besides, how few men and women now among us trouble themselves to examine the wonders of the day, — the ghost-stories of a village, — the prediction of the end of the world by a wandering preacher, — or the marvels of animal magnetism? There are Swedenborg's works, reverenced by his followers, and asserting for him the most astounding miraculous revelations. How many persons have read them? Let us then ask of ancient times no more than what our best experience and knowledge of men show us

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to be natural and reasonable. We expect to find some mention of Christianity in the records or writings of the very first era of Christianity, which may remain to us. If there are any such writings, we turn them over to see if they say anything about the new and wonderful religion. Now, from what sort of writers do we expect these notices? Undoubtedly from all sorts of writers;—that is, from thorough and from partial converts to the religion, and from incidental, superficial, and also from more attentive and exact observers, who did not believe in it, and also from its open enemies. We put by four of these classes for the present, for their abundant testimony will amply reward our subsequent inquiries. We now ask for the first early, superficial, incidental notices on the part of chance observers. Some are disposed to lay great stress upon such notices. It is usual to set a higher value on the admission, the forced, reluctant admission of an opponent, than upon the claim or assertion of a friend of any disputed doctrine. The testimony of believers we think is not enough; we must have that of opponents. But why? Let us look at this for one moment.

An unbeliever could not have mentioned Christianity without having bestowed upon it some degree of attention. A little more attention might have made him a believer; then he would have ceased to be valuable, in our opinion, as an opponent, because he had become a believer. Now are we to value his testimony more before he is converted than after he is converted? This would be a strange standard. But some of the most valuable notices of early Christianity come from converted Gentile observers, who with less attention to Christianity might never have written at all, or if they had written at all, it would have been against it. So that if we have lost the evidence gained from opponents, we have acquired that of friends. Suppose a Pagan author had given us a most minute and exact account of Christianity while he rejected it. Would you not ask why he did not believe it? You certainly would have found a greater difficulty in his want of faith after knowledge, than you would have found in his silence. For instance, Hecateus, a Greek historian, has several passages in accordance with the Jewish histories; and when Josephus, the Jewish annalist, alleged these passages against his heathen adversary, his argument was met with the reply that Hecateus was in his heart a Jew, else he never would have made such allowances.

Converts we know were of the opposite party, until persuad-

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ed of the truth of the facts which they relate. Each of the early Christian writers has given us his testimony as that of a convert; — they are immensely valuable to us. If we are so unreasonable as to demand their testimony, both as opponents and as believers, we imitate a child who cries because he cannot have the pleasure of playing with a toy, which he has had the pleasure of eating, or of breaking, or giving away.

Let us then be reasonable in our demands, and not return to the Christian writers of the first century the most ungracious compliment, that we thank them for their testimony to Christianity, but should have thought more of it if they had not believed the religion. We cannot have their testimony both ways; — we have it in the better way of the two.

We may, however, look over the Pagan and Jewish writers of the first century for any mention of Christianity, and account for their silence, if we find that they are silent. The Pagan writers, who lived at that time and might have mentioned Christianity, but do not, in their extant writings, for reasons which we shall afterwards suggest, were Quintilian and Plutarch. Quintilian was born about the middle of the first century, in Spain, and afterwards lived in Rome. There is a passage in his works which mentions "the author of the Jewish superstition." Christianity was called by this name universally; but whether Quintilian refers to Christianity or Judaism, it is impossible to say. He cared little for anything but belles lettres, and as we know of no reason why Christianity should have come under his notice, we should not be surprised at his silence concerning it. Plutarch, a Greek writer, was born, A. D. 50. He wrote many works, about half of which are preserved. Some theologians think they find in him a reference to Christianity, but it is very doubtful. There is no reason to suppose that he ever heard of Christianity. His studies would not lead him to it. Yet possibly it might have been noticed in his lost works.

Flavius Josephus, the historian of the Jewish Antiquities and Wars, was born of a priestly family, in the year 37, after the birth of Christ, and four years after the crucifixion. He was educated as a Lawyer and a Pharisee, and for a time governed Galilee. He obtained the command of the Jewish army, and for seven weeks heroically defended the city of Jotopata, when besieged by Vespasian and Titus, when Nero was Emperor of Rome. Josephus was taken prisoner, and he obtained the favor of the Emperor Vespasian, by

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artfully applying to him the Jewish prophecies concerning the Messiah. He was in the camp of Titus during the siege of Jerusalem. He afterwards became a courtier at Rome, and there wrote his works upon the Jews, between the years 75 and 93, embracing their annals from the earliest times till near the close of Nero's reign. He suppressed everything in his writings which might offend the heathen. His own countrymen reproached and despised him as a traitor to his city and temple.

Some importance undoubtedly is to be attached to the questions, whether he took any notice of Christianity, and whether or not his history verifies the general statements of the New Testament. We readily perceive, however, that the importance of the former question may be much exaggerated. Some considerations which have been already mentioned, and others which are to be mentioned in the sequel, make it a matter of but really little importance whether Josephus has referred to Christianity by name. He may or may not have known or heard of it. And supposing he had heard of it, he may have omitted all notice of it intentionally or unintentionally. If he were to decide any important point for us, if he was the sole source of our information, his testimony or silence would be of vast consequence to us. But he is only one of many witnesses, even if he is a dumb witness. In one way or another then we will turn him to some account, finding reason for what he says, or for his silence.

As to the condition and government of Judea, at the Christian era, the state of the people, the general expectation of the Messiah, the religious parties, and the seditious opinions then prevalent, and many other particulars, his writings furnish the most remarkable corroborations of the contents of the New Testament. He has also given a very full account of the occurrences which preceded, attended, and followed the destruction of Jerusalem, amounting to a commentary on our Saviour's predictions.

But there are three important passages now found in his works, — very important in their character, — which have been the subjects of much literary dispute. The first of these passages, however, admits of no just question, and is almost universally admitted to be genuine.

Josephus says, Herod, the Tetrarch, had married the daughter of Aretas, King of Petræa, and had lived some time with

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her. On his way for a visit to Rome, Herod formed an improper attachment for Herodias, his brother's wife, made to her proposals of marriage, and resolved to put away his own wife. This brought on a war in which Aretas wholly defeated Herod. Josephus adds: —

"But some of the Jews were of opinion that God suffered Herod's army to be destroyed, as a just punishment on him for the death of John, called the Baptist. For Herod had killed him, who was a just man, and had called upon the Jews to be baptized, and to practise virtue, exercising both justice toward men and piety toward God. For so would baptism be acceptable to God, if they made use of it, not for the expiation of their sins, but for the purity of the body, the mind being first purified by righteousness. And many coming to him, for they were much affected by his discourses, Herod was seized with apprehensions, lest by his authority they should be led into seditions against him; for they seemed capable of undertaking anything by his direction. Herod, therefore, thought it better to take him off before any disturbances happened, than to run the risk of a change of affairs, and of repenting when it should be too late to remedy disorders. Being taken up upon this suspicion of Herod, and being sent bound to the castle of Machærus, he was slain there. The Jews were of opinion that the destruction of Herod's army was a punishment upon him for that action, God being displeased with him."

Such is the first passage, the genuineness of which admits of no question. It is quoted from Josephus by Origen in about 130 years after the publication of the history. It is also quoted by Eusebius, about 200 years after, in his church history. One or two particulars in the passage are apparently inconsistent with the account in the Evangelists, but in reality it remarkably confirms the Scripture narrative. Josephus says that Herod put John to death, because he feared sedition from him; — the Evangelist says, John was in prison, and was put to death by request of Herodias. But Herod was, perhaps, glad of an opportunity to do what he had already intended to do, and thus availed himself of his oath to put to death one already in prison. Indeed, there is a wonderful accordance, in all that Josephus says, with the information and opinion which he would have concerning such a character as John the Baptist. He refers to the unlawful contract of marriage which Herod had made, to the character of John's doctrine, to his rite of Baptism, to his preaching the necessity of inward, as well as

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of outward purification, and to the general interest which he had excited in the people. All these particulars are in strict conformity with the Gospels. Again, Josephus does not implicate himself as a believer in John. He says nothing which indicates him to be the forerunner of the Messiah. St. Paul, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, (xix) in the year 53, met with twelve Jews at Ephesus, who had been baptized by John, and believed in him, but had not heard of Christianity. This first passage of Josephus then, is highly valuable to us. There is nothing to be said against it, and it says nothing against itself. In the same book of the Jewish Antiquities by Josephus, but in a previous chapter, is another remarkable passage, which is found in all the printed and manuscript copies of that author's works now known to exist. It reads thus: —

"At that time lived Jesus, a wise man, if he may be called a man, for he performed many wonderful works. He was a teacher of such men as received the truth with pleasure. He drew over to him many Jews and Gentiles. This was the Christ. And when Pilate at the instigation of the chief men among us, had condemned him to the cross, they who before had conceived an affection for him did not cease to adhere to him. For on the third day he appeared to them alive again, the divine prophets having foretold these and many other wonderful things concerning him. And the sect of the Christians, so called from him, subsists to this time."

Many learned men have received this passage, but general opinion has decided against it. The objections to the admission, that Josephus wrote this passage, are these.

1. It is never quoted or referred to in any way till the time of Eusebius, two hundred years after Josephus wrote. Eusebius does quote it, but he is the first to mention it. Not the slightest reference is made to it by the Christian writers before him, who would gladly have made use of it, had they known of its existence, in their controversies with the Jews and Gentiles. They do quote the passage concerning John the Baptist. Eusebius twice quotes the passage concerning Christ at large, and after him, A. D. 315, it is constantly referred to.

2. Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, about 860, revised, critically, the works of Josephus, and he did not see fit to admit the genuineness of this passage.

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3. Josephus is very methodical in his style and transitions, but this passage, by interrupting the connexion of his narrative, appears suspicious. The paragraph before it refers to a disturbance, occasioned by an attempt of Pilate to bring water to Jerusalem from a distance, and to pay for it from the Temple money; the following paragraph refers to the banishment of the Jews from Rome by Tiberius, on account of misconduct. The mention of Christ then seems out of place.

4. The passage asserts either too little or too much; too little, because if Josephus could have said as much, he might have said more, and to his honorable testimony concerning Jesus would have added some notice of his miracles. Or he has said too much, because by allowing that Jesus taught the truth, was the Messiah, and rose from the dead, he ought to have given some reasons for not believing in him.

Such are the objections to this second passage. The third passage says that "Ananus, the High Priest, called a council of Judges, and bringing before them James, the brother of him who is called Christ, and some others, he accused them as transgressors of the Laws, and had them stoned to death."

There is more evidence for this passage than for the second which we have quoted, but learned men have doubted the genuineness of the words about James. The earliest Christian authority asserts that James perished alone, not with others; that his death was inflicted in a tumultuous manner, not by judicial decision. It is therefore probable that the mention of James was interpolated into the account which Josephus gave concerning some Jewish transgressors.

Such are the three passages in Josephus. The first we admit as genuine, the second we must question, concerning the third we must hesitate. Two questions then present themselves to us. 1. How came that second passage in the works of Josephus, if he did not write it? Most probably, before the time of Eusebius, the owner of one or more manuscripts of Josephus wrote this passage as a note in the margin, and it was subsequently read by the possessor of such a manuscript, as part of the text accidentally omitted. Though Eusebius is the first to mention it, there is no reason to suppose he fabricated it. He might have found it in some copies, and heard of it in others, while still other copies did

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not have it, either as note or text. 2. The second question is, how shall we account for Josephus not having mentioned Jesus Christ, or the Christians, throughout his works. For if both these passages are corrupt, the Saviour and his followers are not mentioned by name. We might reply to this question, that Josephus may refer to Jesus and his disciples, if not by name, still as belonging to the various sectaries of the time, among the impostors, the false teachers, wonder-workers, and deceivers, who abounded during the period. But not to lay any stress on this, we may say that Josephus was born four years after the crucifixion, that there is no reason to suppose he had ever seen a Christian, or that he wrote his works in Judea. While his countrymen in general circulated false and malicious accounts of Christ, and his doctrine, Josephus may have preferred silence about it. His city and Temple had been destroyed, and the Christians had had no concern in the desolation. They had fled and been scattered about. Here and there one of the sect might be seen in an obscurity, which Josephus would not care to bring into notice. He knew that the scorn of the Romans for his race was already bitter enough. The preaching of the Christians was generally connected with popular tumults, in which the Jews were concerned, and Josephus might not wish to publish their trivial disorders. We will add two remarks and then leave this author. It will be perceived that, if we allow that Josephus did not write the passage concerning Christ, there will be a difficulty in deciding who introduced it into his works. Eusebius, who quotes it in all honesty, would scarcely have dared to do so, if he himself had interpolated the passage; for then an opponent might have turned against him, saying, "you fabricated that passage." We are inclined to agree in an opinion which has many judicious supporters, such as Heinichen and Gieseler, that Josephus wrote something about Christ, some part of the passage, which has been more or less altered, diminished, or enlarged. Its original form we cannot know, unless an ancient Manuscript should be discovered. Again, we may say that, if we miss from Josephus all testimony for the Saviour, we find here none against him, no description of the country, its people, or its history, which is at variance with Christian authorities.

Jesus Christ was put to death by the authority of Pontius Pilate, who was appointed to his station of Procurator of Judea,

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by the Emperor Tiberius. We naturally inquire if there is any vestige of a state document, public record, or official proceeding connected with the transaction. It would appear that it was the custom for the Governors of Provinces to send to the Emperor and Senate, Acts and Memoirs of remarkable occurrences, which transpired under their respective rules, in their territories. The only specimen of these reports, which remains to us, consists of the Letters of Pliny, the Governor of Bythinia, to the Emperor Trajan, which do notice Christianity. Other official reports are mentioned, but none are preserved. We have good reason to suppose that Pilate made such a return to Tiberius, though as to the existence of such a document, and as to its contents, we must rely, not upon the possession of it, but upon the evidence of those who had seen it. Such testimony, when coming from honest and competent witnesses, we have no authority to deny. Justin Martyr, one of the most ancient of the early Greek converts to Christianity, educated in the Platonic Philosophy and Greek learning at Alexandria, was at Rome, in the year 140, about the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, when a severe persecution was going on against the Christians. There he wrote a defence or Apology in favor of his brethren to the Emperor and Senate. In that defence, after a mention of the Saviour's crucifixion and some of its attendant circumstances, we read these words ; — "And that these things were so done you may know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate."

Again, after a mention of some of the Saviour's miracles of healing the sick, and raising the dead, we read as follows ; — "And that these things were done by him, you may know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate."

Tertullian, the earliest of the Latin Fathers, the son of a centurion at Carthage, was liberally educated as a Pagan, and converted to Christianity, before the year 200. He likewise has left most valuable writings upon Christian antiquity, including an Apology or Defence. After mentioning the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus, in the presence of the very disciples whom he had commanded to preach his Gospel over the world, he adds ; — "Of all these things, relating to Christ, Pilate, in his conscience a Jew, sent an account to Tiberius then Emperor."

Again, he says ; — "There was an ancient decree, that no

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one should be received for a deity, unless he was first approved of by the Senate. Tiberius, in whose time the Christian religion had its rise, having received, from Palestine in Syria, an account of such things as manifested our Saviour's divinity, proposed to the Senate, and giving his own vote as first in his favor, that he should be placed among the gods. The Senate refused, because Tiberius had himself declined that honor. Nevertheless the Emperor persisted in his own opinion, and ordered that, if any accused the Christians, they should be punished."

Tertullian adds, "Search your own writings, and you will there find that Nero was the first Emperor, who exercised any acts of severity towards the Christians, because they were then very numerous at Rome."

Eusebius, A. D. 315, enlarges upon these particulars, but adds no new ones. At a later period some pretended Acts of Pilate were forged, full of gross calumnies by the heathens upon the Christians. This is to some extent additional evidence for there having been true documents from that Governor. This is all that we know relative to any official narrative of the transactions in Judea. Let us see to what our knowledge amounts.

It has been objected to these ancient testimonies as follows; — "Is there any likelihood that Pilate should write such things to Tiberius concerning a man, whom he had condemned to death? And if he had written them, is it probable that Tiberius should propose to the Senate to have a man put among the number of the gods, upon the bare relation of a governor of a province? And if he had possessed it, who can make a doubt that the Senate would not have immediately complied? So that, though we dare not say that this narration is absolutely false, yet it must be reckoned at the least doubtful."

We all know enough of the kind of reasoning, which in critical inquiries is often made to pass for argument, to estimate mere objections and doubts for what they are worth, and for no more. There is not a shadow of argument in this extract against the fact, that Pilate wrote such a document to Tiberius. Those early writers, who boldly refer to it, are of good credit; and unless the existence of the document is allowed, they must be charged with supreme impudence and falsehood. Again, if Pilate wrote anything to Tiberius

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about Jesus, his communication was undoubtedly in harmony with the good opinion, which he had expressed of Jesus, when reluctantly and by compulsion forced to condemn him. He had said, "I find no fault in him;" — he had taken water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it." If he wrote his good opinion to Tiberius, and added, moreover, that Jesus was believed by some to have reappeared, and was highly reverenced by them, there is not the slighest difficulty in admitting, that a proposition might be made to deify the Saviour among the thousand gods accepted by the Senate and people of Rome. This step, on the part of the Emperor, would be far from proving that he was a Christian, or even that he knew anything more of Christ, than was contained in the document from Pilate. He probably knew very little concerning the mythological histories of the gods of his own and other nations. There is no difficulty in supposing that the Senate might have denied his proposal; for in other matters we know they acted contrary to his opinion.

On the whole, therefore, we are satisfied to repose some confidence in the integrity of this reference. After this survey of the Literature, which was hostile to Christianity, or unobservant of it, let us again call to mind, that the larger part of the literature of those times has perished, — that the Christian part of it which survives is nearly the whole of it. The portion of it has perished in which we might have looked for the most frequent notices of Christianity; such as diaries of daily occurrences, last testaments, family registers, private letters, &c. Christianity had not, as yet, in the eyes of the heathens, become worthy of notice in extended histories, even if we had any such histories in our possession.

It would be a most weak and idle fear for any one to regard this want of Pagan testimony, as a deficiency in Christian evidences. No single fact in the history of ancient times is established by such accumulated, overwhelming evidence, as the appearance of Christianity at the beginning of the Christian era.

We are now left to account for two things; first, for the heedless, erroneous, and insulting notices of Christianity in those times, if any such were made; and second, for the total silence of those who might have mentioned it. These apparent difficulties have often been exceedingly exaggerated.

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Let us answer them both together. An illustration, afforded by the supposition of a case somewhat parallel, will be our readiest answer to any objection on these grounds.

Suppose that 1800 years hence, a question should arise as to the origin, existence, and character of a certain religious sect said to have existed in this country, at this very time, and suppose that the works of only three of our numerous writers, the three most eminent of all in several departments, were then remaining in the world for use. Let us suppose that sect to be the Mormons, and those three writers most eminent in their departments, to be Webster, Irving, and Channing. The question then, 1800 years hence, is to be, whether there was such a sect as the Mormons at this time; who and what they and their pretensions were; and the works of Channing, Irving, and Webster are opened for the search. Now we know that there is such a sect; that the founder pretends to miracles in his favor. We know that they have written books called sacred; they have founded settlements, made many converts, and have caused fightings, skirmishes, and even violent deaths. We know all this; but we are supposing that those, who are to examine the subject 1800 years hence, do not know, but are inquiring about it. They take up the works of Channing, Webster, and Irving. It is plain from the works of those writers, that each and all of them have been to the West, the very region where the Mormons sprung up, and where they live in great numbers. Those writers have visited the West, have read about it, spoke about it, and written about it. It is altogether likely that each of them has seen a Mormon, at least as likely as that Josephus ever saw a Christian. It would seem that Dr. Channing especially could scarcely avoid speaking of them, — for one of his Letters is addressed to a minister in that region, and is devoted to a discussion of the state and prospects of religion in that region. Here then critics, inquirers, and doubters take their stand. They hold up the works of these three authors, and say they shall decide whether there was such a sect as the Mormons, and what sort of people they were. And what would be the consequence? They would not find the slightest mention of the Mormons, in any one of the works of either of those three writers. As far as those writings are concerned, there would not be a shadow of proof, that the Mormons ever existed. But if the newspapers, the almanacs, the private letters, and the judicial proceedings of our time had been preserved, as well as the

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writings of those three authors, for the men of 1800 years hence, then, — *then*, — there would be abundant information concerning the origin, pretensions, and number of the Mormons.

We leave it to our readers to follow out the application of the case, which we have supposed, to that which we have in hand. We will only suggest one or two particulars, in which the cases are parallel. Christianity at first, when feeble, disgraced, and obscure in the land of its origin, could not certainly interest the learned men of Rome, any more than Mormonism interests our learned men. Christianity might be talked about in private, by those who wandered from place to place, and caught the news of the day; but this class of persons has left no document or record. Again, the West is now, as the East once was, the region of many religious extravagances, which are often noticed only in the lump; and as Mormonism is now included under the general title, without especial mention, so was Christianity. Nor will it destroy the parallel between the two cases, if one should say that the miraculous character of Christianity would draw attention to it. Its miraculous character would not draw the attention of those who were distant from the scene; indeed, the hearsay of its wonders would create a prejudice against it. Mormonism, too, claims its miracles, of golden books discovered by revelation. For a time, the story passed current, but when the books were demanded, nobody could find them. On the contrary, when attention was fixed on Christianity, then it was mentioned continually. On the whole we must say that its reception was just such as our best knowledge of human nature would lead us to expect. We have the very records written by its first teachers; these we are next to examine. We have the writings of those whom its first teachers converted. As regards those who were its adversaries, at the proper point of time, we have their testimony, full, explicit, and valuable. Before that proper point of time, we find, on the part of opponents, silence, indifference, or mere superficial notice. This proves nothing more than that the Christian Church had a beginning; strong in the hearts of its disciples, feeble in the prejudices or insults of its adversaries. Christianity was sent into the world, like every thing else which comes from God; in its infancy, and with a power to grow and increase. If we witness its development, let us not doubt that it had a beginning.

G. E. E.

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THE SHADE OF CORNELIA TO PAULUS.

PROPERTIUS, BOOK IV., ELEGY XI.

We present to our readers a translation of the closing Elegy of Propertius, a writer of the Augustan age. It is a Héroide from the dead. The version is quite literal, and line for line. We offer it for three reasons. One is, the intrinsic beauty of the original poem. Another, that it has never — so far as we know — been translated into our own tongue. The last, which is, indeed, the leading reason, is the opportunity that it gives of comparing some of the purest sentiments of classical antiquity, respecting the state of the dead, with those of the simplest minds that have had the advantage of a Christian Education. This Elegy has often been called "the queen of Elegies." We think that it deserves the title, which has thus, as by the common consent of scholars, been awarded to it. As an expression of those domestic affections, which belong to no time or country or institutions, but to the common heart of man, it takes rank above every thing of a like kind among the poets of that cultivated period. We know of nothing, within the same compass, that approachés it, as a picture at once of Roman pride, Roman opinion, and Roman manners.

CORNELIA TO PAULUS.

Cease, Paulus, with thy tears my tomb to pain;[1]
The black gate opens to no prayer. 'T is vain.
When once we 've passed beneath death's lower sway,
Relentless adamant bars up the way.
Though Dis should hear thee from his dusky halls,
The silent shores would drink each tear that falls.
Vows move Celestials. When the boatman 's paid,
The dismal door shuts in the parted shade.

So sang the funeral trumpets, when my head
Found, o'er the funeral torch, the pyre its bed.

[1] The ancients supposed that the dead were troubled by the immoderate grief of their friends.

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What profit to be Paulus' wife ? to claim
Ancestral cars, and living heirs of fame ?
Would Fate for these extend Cornelia's days ?
Lo, I 'm a weight that five small fingers raise.[1]

Detested glooms, thou grim flood's sluggish sheet,
Ye weedy waves that tangle round my feet !
Too soon, but guiltless, hither have I come ;
The Sire here grant my bones a gentle doom ![2]
Or, if an Aeacus in judgment sit,
Let urn and balls protect me, and acquit.[3]
Nigh let the brother sit ; and Minos nigh ;[4]
And the fell Furies stand as listeners by.
Stop, stone of Sisyphus ; Ixion's wheel,
Hush ; and let Tantaleus one slow draught steal ![5]
Let cruel Cerberus scare no ghosts to day ;
And let his unlocked chains their clanking stay !

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[1] This line brings before us the image of the urn, into which the ashes were gathered.

[2] "The Sire here" is Pluto.

[3] The "urn and balls," or lot, decided who should sit Chief Judge in the case. For this judicial custom, see Heyne's Virgil, Æneid vi., 430, and Excurs. xi. We are not to suppose that the guilt or innocence of the parties arraigned was left to the decision of a lot. And yet Dryden has fallen into this mistake, in his strangely loose version of the Æneid, at the passage referred to: ——

> "Round in his urn the blended balls he rolls;
> Absolves the just, and dooms the guilty souls."

[4] "The brother" is Rhadamanthus.

[5] Our poet, who rather affects singularities, gives the Greek termination to the name of Tantalus. Ovid has described in the 10th book of the Metamorphoses a similar respite to the sufferings of the tormented ghosts, to Sisyphus, Ixion, and the rest, at the music of Orpheus. The description is familiar to the English reader, through the imitation of it in Pope's Ode on St. Cecilia's day. The two Roman poets are at variance, however, in the case of Tantalus. According to Ovid, he ceased to catch at the water, so charmed was he by the sounds of the lyre. Propertius allows him to taste a little, as it flows less rapidly by. The difference seems not wholly unworthy of notice, in an æsthetical point of view.

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'T is I my cause that plead ; — if aught I feign,
May the poor sisters' vase my shoulders strain ! [1]

If praise in ancient trophies any see,
All Afric speaks Numantine sires for me.[2]
With this my mother's Albine line may vie,
And lifts my house on twofold titles high.
When soon the maiden robe I ceased to wear,
And bound the bridal riband round my hair,
I joined thee, Paulus, — thus to leave thy bed ; —
Yet write it on my tomb-stone : but once wed.[3]
Witness, O ashes, by thee, Rome revered,
Beneath whose surnames, Afric, thou liest sheared ; —
And he, who laid thy homes, Achilles, bare,[4]
And Perses crushed, Achilles vaunting heir, —
He, my forefather. Spotless did I shine,
Nor blushed my hearth for any stain of mine.
Cornelia never shamed such noble birth,
But copied, as she could, its brightest worth.

Nor did time change me ; — pure was all from blame,
Between the nuptial torch and funeral flame.
Me Nature governed through ingenuous blood,
Lest I could grow, by fear of judgment, good.
Spring from the urn whatever lot austere,[5]
None sits dishonored by my sitting near.

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[1] Allusion is here made to the punishment of the daughters of Danaus.

[2] Scipio the younger, surnamed Africanus and Numantinus, after he had destroyed Carthage and Numantia, was the ancestor of Cornelia.

[3] Valerius Maximus tells us, that women who took no second husband were held in particular honor. II. 1, 2.

[4] Æmilius Paulus, surnamed Macedonicus, is meant, who vanquished Perses, the last of the Macedonian kings. These traced their line from Achilles. See the Æneid vi., 840.

[5] According to the interpretation given above, this must mean, let the most rigorous judge be assigned to me.

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Not thou, whose girdle freed the ship aground,
Claudia, chaste priestess of the Turret-crowned; —
Nor thou, whose snowy robe relumed the fire,[1]
When Vesta came, her hearth-flame to require.

Thee I ne 'er grieved, dear mother, soon or late.
What wouldst thou wish me changed in, — but my fate?
Scribonia's tears are praises; Rome's sad moans,[2]
And Cæsar's sigh, are poured upon my bones.
A sister, worthy his own daughter, dies,[3]
And a god's grief flows chiding from his eyes.

But yet I 've worn the matron's prize-array;[4]
Not from a sterile house been snatched away.
Thee, Lepidus! Thee, Paulus! — still my blest!
My dying eyes were closed upon your breast.
My brother twice the curule honors wore;[5]
I saw him Consul, — and then saw no more.
My daughter! image of thy Censor sire,[6]
Like me, approach but once the marriage fire,
And so sustain thy line. — From the unmoored bark
I shrink not; no more ills my lot shall mark.

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[1] The vestal virgin, Aemilia, whose story is told by Dionysius Hal. and Valerius Max.

[2] Her mother Scribonia became the wife of Augustus Cæsar, and made him the father of the famous Julia.

[3] Cornelia was of course the half sister of that celebrated beauty, whose scandalous life and wretched end appear in singular contrast with the flattering mention of her in this passage, and with the character of her chaste eulogist.

[4] There were honorary distinctions for matrons, who had borne three children to the state. Frequent mention is made of the "jus trium liberorum" by the Roman writers. What the "vestis honores" here mentioned consisted in, is not, however, very clear.

[5] P. Cornelius Scipio was ædile and prætor before he arrived at the consulship. These were the required grades of succession.

[6] Here again is rather an unfortunate instance of praise; for Velleius Paterculus informs us, that the Censorship of Plancus and Paulus was spent in quarrels, and was neither honorable to themselves nor useful to the republic; Paulus being wanting in authority, and Plancus in morals. II. 95.

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O'er the quenched pile when praise is full and free, —
That is the loftiest prize of woman's victory.

Our sons, love's pledges, now to thee I trust;
This care still breathes, burnt in upon my dust.
Father, fulfil a mother's part; my share
Of the dear burthens now thy neck must bear.
When thou giv'st kisses as they weep, add mine; —
The weight now rests on thee of house and line.
Let them not hear it, when thy sorrows speak;
But kiss them, as they come, with unwet cheek.
Enough the night with thoughts of me to wear,
And dreams, as if my living face was there.
And when thou talk'st, my Paulus, to my shade,
Fancy to each kind word an answer made.
Should e'er an altered bride-bed face the door,[1]
A step-dame sitting where I sat before,
Your father's choice, my children, bear, — commend;
Subdued by goodness she will be your friend.
Nor praise too much your mother; lest from thence
A rival feeling kindle to offence.

Or if content with memories he remain,
My ashes worthy deemed such rank to gain;
Learn how to soothe his age, as on it steals,
And comfort every care the lonely feels.
What fails from mine be in your years enrolled![2]
Paulus in you be happy to be old!

---

[1] "The nuptial couch was placed in the hall opposite to the door. If it had ever been used for that purpose before, the place of it was changed." Adam's Roman Ant.

[2] This natural and beautiful thought is found also in Martial, at the 37th epigram of the first book:—

"Diceret infernas qui prior isset ad umbras:
Vive tuo, frater, tempore, — vive meo."

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All 's well. No mourning weeds the mother clad,
But every child my funeral farewell bade.

My cause is pleaded. Rise, ye pitying Powers,[1]
While friendly earth pays back life's honored hours.
Heaven is unclosed to Worth. Me worthy find,
And bear my bones to rest with their illustrious kind.[2]

N. L. F.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE WORLD BY FIRE.

THAT a violent end is appointed for the present system and order of created things has been a theme of poetry, and even of philosophy, from the remotest times. It can be traced in the usages and the fictions of the oldest nations on earth. And to it was added, for the most part if not always, the doctrine of a retribution then to take place, and the belief of a nobler and more glorious creation to spring out of the ruins of this. It may appear singular to claim so great an antiquity and prevalence for ideas, which are commonly supposed to have taken their birth from Christianity. The claim, however, cannot be disallowed ; and it would indeed be extraordinary, if an apprehension so general, recognised by the traditions of the Jews and the customs of the Pagans, and lying spread over all those great portions of the globe where Mahometanism is professed, should have been derived from two or three passages of the Scriptures of the New Testament.

We propose first to inquire into the origin of such an opinion. We shall then endeavor to trace its history through different ages and tribes of men ; from the feeblest intimations of it in the earlier periods of society down to those glaring

[1] " Rise," that is, to pronounce your award.

[2] The critical reader will perceive that the conjectural emendation of Heinsius has been adopted in this line. In two other instances, lines 21 & 39, 40, the text of Burmann has been deserted for the more recent one of Kuinoel.

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errors connected with it, which have found advocates even in modern days. We hope to close what we intend to say with those practical principles, which the subject ought to suggest.

We are to inquire first, then, into the origin of the opinion. What should have suggested the thought, that this solid earth and this stupendous frame of nature were one day suddenly to perish? No signs of dissolution, certainly, were discernible on the newly peopled globe, nor among the eternal stars. It seems natural to look for the cause in some terrible revolution which befell the old world, and in the impressions of dread which it must have left on the minds of men. Such a revolution was the Deluge. The tradition of that event is not peculiar to Moses. It is presented to us in different forms from many sources. It is the united voice of antiquity, coming to us, as it were, across a waste of overwhelming waters. It is perpetuated in the records or the monuments of people the farthest apart from one another. The physical researches of modern days justify the tradition. The present appearances of the earth correspond with it. Various marks on the surface of the globe, and in its structure, its inland parts and mountain tops containing shells and marine substances, — the organic remains that lie scattered in climates, of which the living animal could not have been a native, — all these things prove the reality of some awful convulsion and destruction by flood. The event, it is easy to conceive, would leave deep traces of sadness and anxiety behind it, and might well become connected with the expectation of another convulsion, to be attended with like fatal consequences. Men would naturally associate the memorials of one with a looking for of the other. And positive indications are not wanting that they actually did so. These two ideas are closely bound together. Even in the New Testament, we read in the second epistle of Peter the following remarkable words; "By the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water; whereby the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished. But the heavens and the earth, which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire, against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men." We are aware that some interpreters have been willing to see, in this picture of a flaming universe, only a description in

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bright colors of the destruction of Jerusalem, or of great political convulsions. Such an interpretation betrays a great inattention to the history of ancient opinions, and is one of a thousand proofs to show how easily men find that only in the Bible, which they are predisposed to find.

The first impression, then, must have been one of mere mournfulness and alarm. It probably was. But it could not long remain so. Moral sentiments and a religious persuasion would soon mix with it. Was it not sin, that brought down on the world before the flood that devouring judgment, from which only a few righteous persons escaped? That future visitation, therefore, would come when iniquities should sufficiently abound and for their punishment. This is expressed in the Scriptural passage we have just quoted. But such a day of recompenses must have come to be regarded also as one of reward for the righteous, — of joy and glory for those who had been unjustly oppressed, or laboriously deserving, or without fault unhappy. It would thus assume a less appalling character, and even an inviting one. Men would anticipate in that great consummation a display of the divine perfections and providence, the triumph of light and happiness, the end of all the evils here below, and the commencement of a new era, a nobler order of things. And all this did in fact happen, as will be shown more circumstantially as we go on. The Sybilline oracles, after describing the final conflagration, conclude with this remarkable exclamation; "O thrice blessed the man who reaches that time!" To the same effect the author of the Scripture already cited adds, that we should be "looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God, wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, expecting the new heavens and the new earth, in which shall dwell righteousness."

We have said nothing, as yet, on the point why fire should have been designated as the instrument of this general ruin. It was not universally conceived to be so. The theology of the Hindoos, perhaps the oldest of which we have any record, represents the floods as the means of the destruction. Their Deity, they say, incarnate for the tenth time, will descend on a white horse, and the earth will be sunk by the first stroke of his hoofs. The opposite opinion, however, that of destruction by fire has been by far the

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most prevalent. For this several conjectures may be very probably assigned. The principle of contrast alone might have led to it. It was natural also, that the mightiest of the elements should be chosen for the accomplishment of so tremendous an overthrow. There are besides many appearances on our planet and beyond it, calculated to inspire apprehension from this agent, rather than from the other. When we look upon the waters, we can scarcely believe that they should ever have lain like a shoreless sea over the fair creation. They have shrunk to their appointed place, and a decree seems set upon them that they shall return no more to destroy. The torrents that are sometimes poured out from the skies soon exhaust themselves; and the rainbow, that is refracted from their drops after the storm has passed by, has been of old interpreted into a promise of the Almighty, that the world shall not again be overwhelmed. But no such bounds have been fixed for that fiercer element. There is no promise to spare upon the tongue of flame. Internal fires are laboring, we know not how deep, in the heart of the earth. They break out in volcanoes. They show the marks of their action in numerous ways and on all sides. Lights are flashing up through our atmosphere, and meteors explode in it, of which even the improved philosophy of modern days has been able to give but inadequate account, and which were fearful portents to older times. At immeasurable distances over our heads the heavens are crowded with blazing orbs; and the very age, in which we live, has not wholly outgrown the panic, which the approach of a comet used once to spread over the nations.

The origin of the idea, that the world is to be destroyed by fire, has thus been accounted for, and set forth as distinctly as our narrow limits will well allow.

We undertook next to trace an outline of its history. The doctrine of the dissolution of the world, and its reproduction in a more perfect form and under happier auspices, has been seen already to be extremely ancient. We cannot now enter minutely into its details. We have no time to follow it back to Phœnicia, Chaldea, Persia, and countries still farther east, among the obscure observances and doubtful mythologies of the earliest tribes of men. We will only present it in a few of its most striking and prominent forms. Even those will have comparatively but little interest for us, till we come

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down to the notions entertained by the earliest Christians and their Jewish contemporaries.

We may begin this part of the subject with another glance at the religion of India. It foretells the sudden perishing of the present scene of things. But not as if all was to be thus ended. On the contrary, it declares that all is thus to be made new. One of its leading principles is, that nothing is utterly lost. There is change, but no annihilation. The Creator is also the Preserver and Regenerator of the substances that exist. Herein is the Trinity of that old form of belief. It holds out the promise of a golden period, in which every pollution shall have been washed off, and the sorrows of life swept away forever. From this religion, in some of its features so sublime, let us turn to another; one of the most opposite character, of the wildest and fiercest shape, that ever entered into the imagination of man. We allude to the faith of the Northern nations. They believed that the great powers of the universe were in conflict with one another, and that the malignant were even now with difficulty kept in subjection and confinement by the good. They believed that this subjection was not always to last, that this confinement would at length be violently broken. They looked for a destined day, when the frightful forms of evil should burst forth, ascend into the upper regions, and make war against heaven and earth. This period they called "the twilight of the gods;" and it was to end in one general ruin. Thus far their terrible system seems to be all gloom. It apparently gives the final victory to what is bad and destructive; and we are ready to ascribe such a startling peculiarity to their stern climate and savage manners. But on looking farther, we find that a new and magnificent scene is unfolded afterwards. Those contending and perishing gods did but represent the elements of this visible world, and after their destruction the universal Father, (Alfadur,) was to take under his sole charge the remodelled creation. The system, thus completed, does not differ widely, except in its imagery, from that of the Hindoos just recited. We may also observe, that but in that same respect it approaches very near to the refined mythology of Greece, and the opinions of its most celebrated men. The disciples of Pythagoras, the first who assumed the name of philosopher among them, maintained the belief of a general conflagration. This was held also by

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many, who did not acknowledge themselves to be of that sect. It was particularly taught by Zeno, and always continued to be regarded as a leading doctrine among his followers, the Stoics. There seems thus some ground for the quaint remark of one of the old divines, that "we have heard as it were a cry of fire, through all antiquity, and among all the people of the earth." This consuming flame was thought destined to fall upon the gods as well as on mortals; for the classical deities, like those of ruder idolatry, were little more than personifications of the powers of nature.* All was to be overthrown together. All was to give place to a diviner administration.

Intimations of this kind are the clearest and most frequent in those classical writers, who lived just before the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, or immediately after that momentous event. Virgil, who died a few years previous to it, sings in his fourth eclogue of "the last age predicted by the Cumæan Sybil;" and then goes on to describe a period of perfect bliss, in which the most injurious things shall change their qualities, and there shall be nothing left to hurt or offend. Such a period was to be preceded, according to all tradition, by a mighty revolution. Ovid puts these words into the mouth of Jove;† "He remembered that it was in the fates, that the time was coming, in which the sea and the earth and the very palace of heaven should be on fire." The poet Lucan writes,‡ "when the world shall feel its last hour come, all things shall return to chaos; stars will clash with stars, and the blazing constellations will plunge into the deep." Again, speaking of the dead as they lay strown over a field of battle, he exclaims,§ — "if there should now be found for them no funeral pile, they shall burn with the land, they shall burn with the ocean streams; their pile shall be that of nature itself, and the planets shall be mixed with their bones." The writings of Seneca, as we should expect from his Stoical philosophy, abound with pointed expressions of a similar belief.

We come now to consider this opinion in the most remark-

* Senecæ Trag. Thyestes, Act. IV. Chorus, 828–843. Æschylus Prometh. 915–935.

† Ovid Metam. I. 256, &c.

‡ Lucani Phars. lib. 1, 72–76.

§ Pharsal. lib. 7, 812–815.

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able of its aspects; one, in which it entered the Christian Church, and for several centuries disturbed the good order of society. Towards the beginning of our Era, men's minds were seized with the apprehension that the end of all things was at hand. The world had stood, according to some obscure computation of theirs, six thousand years, and the seventh was to usher in the great consummation. The Jews read in the first book of their law, that the work of creation was finished in six days; and they read in the psalms of David that one day was with the Lord as a thousand years. They were thus confirmed in the expectation of mighty events about to take place with the opening of the seventh period. We learn from the letters of the apostles, that in their time there was a general alarm spread, as if the day of judgment was hastening on. As soon as we enter upon the history of the church, after the decease of those holy men, we find the notion of a millennium prevailing, and supported by the authority of many leading names. The doctrine was, that a visible reign of the Messiah in person was presently to be set up on earth, which should last a thousand years. During this interval the saints, — by whom the Jews meant their nation and the Christians their sect, — were to enjoy perfect felicity; and at its close nature was to be destroyed and reproduced. Amidst all this expectation and terror, — this looking for of Christ's descent — whether to establish his earthly kingdom or to put an end to earthly things, — the world went on in its usual order. Nothing threatened or promised a change. Still the imaginations of men, once agitated so deeply, could not rest. They sought out new dates, to which they might refer their prophecies. We are told by one of the Fathers of the church in the fourth century,* that the year 365 was designated by some as the fated season; a calculation suggested, no doubt, by the number of days in a year. It passed over, however, and left all safe and the same. The idea afterwards arose, that one thousand years must first be waited for, to complete the great week of the ages. The eleventh and twelfth centuries were thrown into consternation by hearing the approaching ruin everywhere proclaimed. The rich and the great were seen stripping themselves of their possessions and their power, that they might find mercy during that

* August. Civit. Dei, 18, 53.

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awful visitation, or obtain afterwards a larger inheritance in heaven. Pierre Jean, a Begard, fixed the end of the world at 1335; Arnold, a Spaniard, at 1345; Vincent Ferrier, a hermit, at 1403. Mainfroy preached up the catastrophe again in 1418. The character of this impression is plain from the first lines of that celebrated Service for the Dead, which is supposed to date from the thirteenth century, and is still in use with the Romish church: —

> "The Day of wrath, that dreadful day,
> Shall the whole world in ashes lay,
> As David and the Sybil say."

The minds of men ever since have been occasionally disturbed by fanatical predictions, that such an event was soon to happen. Some people are agitated with it at this very time, in a community that ought to be better informed. The apocalyptical arithmeticians are as confident as ever, and the people almost as credulous. The great mind of Milton gave into the idea of a millennium, and he closes his work on "Reformation in England" with an invocation to "the eternal and shortly expected King." That doctrine is still regarded as sacred by very many. The effects of it may be largely seen over Christendom, breaking out, as they have, down to our own days, in extravagance and disorder. But all the years come to a close, and hand over the torch of the Sun to their successors. Time continues on its even way, marking out as before the fates of mortals. The "mighty angel" of the Apocalypse, with his right foot on the sea, and his left on the solid ground, and his hand lifted to heaven, has not yet sworn that there shall be no more delay; — or, as our version renders it, "that there should be time no longer."

3. We have left ourselves no room to enlarge on the practical part of this subject, though it is the most important part. There are two or three plain reflections, however, that naturally offer themselves, and deserve more attention than they have commonly received. We mistake our province, when we attempt to trace the beginning or look to the end of things created. We mistake our interests, when we consider ourselves concerned with such unfathomable themes. We mistake our duty, when we think that it requires us to understand them or to make them a part of our faith. How this lower world was made, and what were its earliest fortunes, it is im-

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possible for us to know; for "where were we when the measures thereof were laid, and the line stretched upon it, and the foundations thereof fastened?" What shall become of it we cannot tell, for we are men and not God. It may wax old as doth a garment, and perish like its inhabitants under the weight of years; or a sudden calamity may overwhelm it and change it utterly, or it may go on in its own bright order forever. What is that to us? It is our part to contemplate and enjoy it, to improve its capabilities, to draw wisdom from its thousand sources, and to open our hearts to the living spirit of God, which is breathing continually through his matchless works. We cannot prophecy what shall befall in the latter days. But we need not that knowledge. And we need no gift of prophecy to teach us that the latter days of our own lives are those for which it becomes all of us earnestly and chiefly to prepare. Let us take care of ourselves. He who made it will take care of his universe. All that terrific minuteness, with which poets and preachers have loved to set off their descriptions of the last scene of nature, is but a vain and foolish labor. It never did any good. It never will. Take away from us that glare of a heated imagination, that glowing imagery of dismay. Let men be made to attend to what belongs to them, — to their life's duties, and their life's end. There is a nearer concern for them than whether this material system is to be wrapt in fire; it is that their good principles and affections should not consume away; — that their moral nature, created in the likeness of God, should not be made a ruin. Let them see to it that the inner man is not inflamed by evil passions, nor the veins scorched by feverish indulgences, nor the tongue "set on fire of hell." The rest may be left with the eternal Providence.

N. L. F.

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GREENWOOD'S SERMONS.*

It is impossible to open such a volume as this, for the purpose of doing our duty as public examiners, without feeling the difficulty of our position. We are bound to set aside all the influences of personal connexion, and personal partialities, and judge the book, and speak of it as if we had picked it up in some distant place, and had never heard of the author. We are also bound, — as in all cases, but doubly so in cases like this, — to have sacred regard to the rights and feelings of the author, — neither to annoy him by extravagant panegyric, which he shall feel to be owing rather to his position than his merits, nor to mortify him by unnecessary severity, in the useless exposure of imperfections and blemishes, such as are incident to all human compositon. It is impossible for this Journal to forget its connexion with the author of these sermons. But it will not, for fear of being suspected of undue bias, neglect to welcome their publication, and recommend them to the world; and will strive to maintain that tone of absolute justice, and discriminating approbation, which shall prove that no undue bias has deprived it of its right to attention and confidence.

A volume of sermons may be regarded in either of two points of view, — as containing specimens of preaching, or as designed for religious edification, — and a very different judgment may be passed upon it, according as it is examined with reference to the one or the other of these objects. That may be highly admirable, when tried by the rules of art, as a literary or rhetorical performance, which would be worthless for religious instruction or exhortation; and, on the other hand, that may be worthy of great praise, as adapted to religious impression, which has no merit of literary execution. It cannot be denied, that much of the preaching, which has most truly accomplished the object of the pulpit, has been of a character which the laws of criticism would regard as beneath notice. The favorite sermons of devout readers are not counted among the classics;

* *Sermon's of Consolation*: by Francis W. P. Greenwood, D. D., Minister of King's Chapel, Boston. 12mo. pp. 335. Little & Brown. 1842.

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while many of the discourses, which criticism would approve as works of art, have been of little interest to those who read for religious gratification. The best sermons will bear scrutiny in both particulars; will satisfy, at once, the requisitions of taste, and the desire of religious faith. In this class we place the volume before us.

If any should doubt whether all these discourses are worthy of their author, and fair specimens of his best powers, let him remember that they are not published as specimens of the art of sermonizing, or of literary composition; but expressly as addresses for Christian consolation. The design is singly to put into the hands of religious readers a volume suited to their wants in seasons of trial. Of course, therefore, it cannot present a selection from the preacher's best sermons alone. He has sacrificed to his great design the reputation which, if reputation had been his object, he might have gained by substituting for the least felicitous of these his most successful efforts on other themes. Thirty discourses, on kindred themes, cannot be all in the writer's most finished manner; to produce such they must be carefully culled from his happiest, on various themes. So that if we will have the benefit of unity in the volume, we must forego the gratification of seeing only the choicest productions of its author. We approve very cordially the preference given to the contents of this volume. There is no monotony in the choice of subjects, and the diversity of merit in the discourses is not such as to leave any of them in a very uncomfortable inferiority.

We have said this merely for the sake of suggesting a hint to those, who have been accustomed to listen to the preaching of Dr. Greenwood, and who may be disappointed at not meeting in print some favorite sermons which dwell in their memories. There is another thought which always suggests itself to our own minds, when we attempt to judge, and when we listen to judgments expressed by others, of published sermons. It is this, — that, from the nature of the case, it is extremely difficult to do them anything like fair justice. So small a part of the sermon can be brought before us by the printed page, that our opinion is formed from an acquaintance wholly imperfect. It was meant to be judged by the ear, and we judge it by the eye. If we leave out of view that it was designed to be spoken from a pulpit, as part of a religious service; that its whole

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idea, its course of thought, its style of expression, and everything which makes it, has been determined by that consideration; and further, that all these, in intention and effect, were connected with the voice, modulation, attitude, gesture, of the speaker, and the personal relations in which he stood to the hearers and the occasion; — it will be seen that the paragraphs of the printed book, are but a small part of the sermon; that the very essence and spirit, which made it what it was, which gave it all its charm, have been abstracted from it. The justest emblem of the published discourse of a gifted preacher is a tree or a fine landscape in winter; where we see the bare outline, the general form; but the canopy of green leaves, the garlands of flowers, the harmonies of color, the indescribable beauties of light and shade and motion, which give it soul and expression, are all wanting. We can say that there is a grove, and a meadow, and a rivulet, and distant mountains; but we cannot guess whether it be one of the scenes which Claude has copied to the admiration of the world, or some ordinary spot that no artist has looked at a second time. The sermon that comes only to the eye, without the characteristic tone, the beaming look, the trembling lip, the discriminating emphasis, the audible soul of the speaking author, is little else than this disrobed landscape; no competent judgment can be formed of its real beauty and power, and criticism becomes impertinent. If we would know what is the majesty of Handel's Messiah, we do not try it on our flute, or even rest satisfied with the performance of some skilful pupil on a tolerable piano forte. We must have an organ, an orchestra, a loud-voiced choir, and an ample space. Then only can we learn what that divine work is. And then only can we learn what a given sermon is, when we are present to the very utterance of that sermon by him who spoke as well as wrote it, and know the very inflexions and pauses which contributed to make it his, and without which it might have been another's. Hence he, that never heard the preacher, cannot well presume to judge of the sermon; that is, not as passing an opinion on the preaching. Why do you say, that is poor and empty? — you did not hear it, and you cannot tell how much thought and feeling were crowded into it, by the expressiveness of the speaker. And why do you laud the soundness of thought, and beauty of style of another? If you had been present at the delivery, you would have found that it fell heavy and ineffective on the audience, through

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certain fatal deficiencies, which the machinery of the press does not exhibit, but which the pulpit betrayed. The press gives you but a part of the preaching.

A preacher, then, who is judged by his printed volumes alone, is sure to be more or less misjudged. He can be but partially known. Whitefield was a powerful preacher; but his published sermons do not inform us of it. Therefore, volumes of sermons are improper subjects of criticism, if the purpose be to describe and show forth the preaching, and not simply the logic or the style. Who can know Dr. Greenwood, the preacher, by reading these discourses? That he thinks with clearness, and writes with grace, that he is a lover of pure and severe simplicity, that he is unostentatious, unartificial, whose earnestness glows and never flashes or storms, who melts by the gentle urgency of affection without vociferation or passion, and whose prose is musical as verse; so much might be seen. But this is not to know him, as those know, or to see the attraction of his ministry, as those see, who can read these pages with his tones ringing in their ears, and the image of his thin form standing up before them, while every fibre of their hearts is thrilling with the inexplicable influence of his sonorous cadences, suggesting a multitude of thoughts, sentiments, and emotions, which no printed page can suggest.

We do not mean, therefore, to attempt any description or criticism of this volume. We only express our pleasure at its publication, and our confidence that it will be acceptable to those for whom it is designed, both through the attractiveness of its spirit, and the beauty of its diction. Many of the sermons are finished poems. Their general character is that of serene and soothing gentleness, — calm in spirit, because strong in faith; animated and joyous, because strong in hope, — which should belong to the "son of consolation."

It would have been easy to have introduced some higher topics of philosophical discussion, and to have displayed profoundness and acuteness in reasoning, on some of the perplexing mysteries connected with the dispensations of Providence. There are minds which covet such speculations, and who will esteem it a deficiency in the book, that it has declined to enter upon them, and has confined itself to views of life and truth, which are simple, and accessible to all. The preacher has done as he should, since his purpose was usefulness. We know that the common are the most important; that in realities of trial and

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grief the simple are the powerful views; that then, novelty is distasteful, and metaphysical subtleties and ingenious speculations revolting. If he had sought the admiration of restless or worldly minds, he might have found it by flights over regions where few could follow him; but he would have gone where the Christian pulpit has no errand; he would have left the afflicted unconsoled, for the sake of gratification to those whom the gratification could not profit. A far nobler, as well as more appropriate task was it to fix attention upon the familiar, fundamental, and essentially strengthening thoughts of Providence and Christianity, by the attractiveness of new illustrations, and a graceful and sympathizing address. The best thing a preacher can, in most cases, do for the benefit of his fellow men, is to describe to them things perfectly familiar, in such manner that they shall have a new perception of them.

This is the task performed in the sermons before us. It is characteristic of the author's preaching. And it is no small thing to be able to put the mind of the hearer or reader into the state of calmness and elevation, into which it is brought by representations like these. He, who can do it well, accomplishes the errand of the stated preacher. To him belongs the description given by Moses: "His doctrine drops like the rain; his speech distils like the dew; like the small rain upon the tender herb, and like the dew upon the grass." Like his great Master and Pattern, he does not strive, nor cry, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. It may be true that the violent, harsh, and vociferous; that the metaphysical, philosophical, and mystical; that the exclamatory, colloquial, dramatic, and even fantastic, shall sometimes have its appropriate place, and do good service to the church; but the calm, and affectionate, uniformly simple, and always grave, that always interests but rarely excites, is more becoming the speech of dying men to dying men, and more persuasive to the multitude of needy souls.

Of the subjects of these sermons, of which we have already said there is no want of variety, the writer thus speaks in his preface, —

"But while I have given my collection of discourses unity, by restricting it to this one object, I am conscious that I have at the same time exposed it to the charge of containing repetitions, not of thought only, but of phrase. Repetitions, doubtless, there are; but I know not how they could easily have been avoided, and I trust they will not prove tiresome. The discour-

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ses were written separately, at distant intervals, and with no idea, at the time, that they would ever be brought together. Moreover, the great sources of consolation are but few, and remain the same from year to year and age to age; because they are sufficient for their end, and for our condition. Not being able to avoid repetition entirely, I have, however, obviated the difficulty as far as possible, by introducing a large variety of topics within the prescribed limits; the end being always that of consolation." — pp. vi., vii.

We accordingly observe that many of them treat but indirectly on consolation. They are engaged not in expressly applying the truths or motives of religious solace; but in laying the foundation for them, and confirming a faith in their reality and strength, so that they shall be ready for application whenever the necessity may arrive. Such, for example, are the discourses on the Being, Power, Incomprehensibility, and Guardianship of God, and the folly of Atheism. These are fundamental and preliminary truths. One is not prepared to receive Christian consolation, until these are fixed deeply and impregnably in the soul; for it is in the attributes and relations of the Deity, that all confidence, peace, and hope reside Let us present one extract, as a specimen of the tone in which these sermons are conceived and written. It is from the discourse "God All-Powerful."

"But whose power is it? for we perceive not only power, but designing power. Where did it come from? for when we look on the great streams, we inquire for their source. Who can go out in the hushed and serious time of night, and raise his regards to the spangled firmament, with the knowledge that each point of light there is a ponderous world, steadfast in itself and in its relations to the great whole; and that those of them which are moving, are moving with a velocity which confounds thought, and yet with a certainty of revolution which can be calculated to a second; who, when the winds are abroad, making the ocean to rage mightily, can view the tumult from the shore, conscious of his own safety, and that bounds are appointed to the threatening waves, which they cannot pass; who can observe the travelling clouds pouring out their showers as they are needed upon the grateful earth; who can mark the seasons as they come round in punctual and yet ever-varying return; — who can see and understand such things, and refuse entrance to the conviction, that they were intended; that there is a purpose at work in them and over them; that these operations are directed

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by some intelligent existence; that there is some controlling and designing being to whom all this power belongs?

"'It belongs to the things themselves,' is the discordant cry of a few, and happily but of a few. 'The power is in the machine itself. The universe is god, its own god. Why pretend to look further than you can see? Use your senses, which are the only means of knowledge. Be not superstitious, and concern not yourself about a being who does not exist, because the senses do not apprehend him.' Well then, I will use my senses, since that is the word. I will go to them obsequiously, and implore them to let me know where the intelligence is, whose designs are everywhere around me. They can tell me nothing. I look, and I see nothing, I hearken, and I hear nothing, I reach forth my hands, and I feel nothing, in the whole congregation of material existences, which appears to me to possess mind and intelligence of itself. In the clods beneath me I perceive no self-governing wisdom; in the stars above me I perceive no spirit of order; in the waves of ocean I am apprized of no ruling mind. I see, I hear, I feel nothing in matter, like a planning, organizing, directing principle; and that is the very reason why I believe that there is such a principle, or Being, separate from matter, and superior to it. For one thing I do perceive, and that is design; of one thing I am certain, and that is, that there is somewhere a mind intently at work; the proofs of intention are too plain to be mistaken; and therefore when I use my senses, as I am requested to do, and receive no information from them that matter can rule itself, I form the direct conclusion from this silence and negative evidence of my senses, that there is a Being, a Supreme Being who rules it; for sure I am that it is ruled. I will not be so superstitious, therefore, as to believe in the contradiction of an unintelligent system acting of itself intelligently. I am advised not to be credulous. I will not be. I will admit nothing but on fair proof. Because my senses show me no visible, audible, tangible intelligence, I shall not therefore believe that there is no intelligence, but the very reverse, that there is one; one whom the senses cannot show me, one whom I cannot see, nor hear, nor feel, except in the wise and beautiful order of the universe, and in the beatings of my heart; one who is indivisible, inaudible, intangible, but to the eye of my mind, and the ear of my spirit, and the demonstrations of my reason. In following my senses, therefore, I am brought to my God; because they show me design, and cannot show me the designer. Now it is that the dumb works of nature break their silence, and utter speech of their Creator, and of mine. Now it is that the mountains echo to the sea, and

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earth repeats to heaven, the holy name of Him who ordains their order and rules their motions. Now it is that their voice becomes the voice of God himself, proclaiming and reiterating his divine supremacy. 'God hath spoken once; twice have I heard this; that power belongeth unto God.'" — pp. 26 – 29.

Of a similar class with the discourses, just referred to are those which relate to the evidences of the Christian Faith, and the history and character of the Saviour. These, too, without directly addressing topics of consolation to the afflicted, are employed to teach truth and excite sentiments, which prepare the way for their efficacious reception, by filling the soul with a steady faith and holy love. Let the power and loveliness of Christ be appreciated, and the mind is in a state to be strengthened and soothed by those spiritual truths, from which all satisfying solace and sound tranquillity must flow. "Nothing without Christ;" "The Perpetuity of Christ's Kingdom;" "The Crown of Thorns;" are among those which belong to this class. How surely do contemplations on the Master, under relations like these, tend to impart a calmness and tenderness favorable to the influence of the great words of religious comfort. We must cull a specimen hence also. We take it from the sermon entitled "Nothing without Christ."

"But this is only the first and most general view of our dependence. When we turn to an examination of ourselves and our religious state in direct and immediate relation with the Saviour, it is then that the conviction is most forcibly impressed upon us, that we can do nothing without him. We arrive at our most intimate, consoling, and elevating knowledge of God the Father, through his Son Jesus Christ. We acquire our simplest, clearest, kindest, and most practical views of duty, from him and his life. We learn from him distinctly, what is the acceptable worship and service which man is required to render to his Maker. We know through him and his resurrection, what we could not otherwise have known, whatever we might have hoped, that we are immortal, that we shall live after death and forever. By him we are brought into connexion with that bright community of angels and sainted spirits, whose voices we hear on earth by faith, cheering us in our journey, and inviting us to the enjoyment of their society and his own, everlastingly in heaven. While we continue with him, studying his life, meditating on his image, listening to his words, imbibing his spirit, we are possessed with all this knowledge, faith, and power; but away from him and without him, where is it to

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be found, and what can we do? I confess I know not. If I could dismantle my own heart of all traces and memorials of the Saviour, I know that I should be startled at its emptiness and desolation, and finding in it but little to repair the melancholy loss, be forced to weep in despair over the ruin I had made. And as empty and solitary as my heart should I find the domains of ancient philosophy and religion. What should I get there but evil mixed up with good, hope glimmering through darkness, and doubt enfeebling all conclusions? Whom should I discover there, among the best and greatest, who could give to my soul that divine security, that heavenly rest which is so freely offered by Christ, or who could reflect upon my soul that image of purity and holiness, which is revealed in the person of Christ? Every system and treatise into which I might look, every face to which I might turn, would seem to ask me in wonder why I came to them for that divine authority, purity, and beauty which they lived too early to see, and for that light beyond the grave which they were searching for so anxiously themselves.

"Christ is my companion and guide in the path of my mortal life, through all difficulty and danger, always ready and efficient with his counsel, sympathy, and assistance. Am I in doubt concerning some question of duty, some rule of conscience? I have only to refer to his word, or his example, and my course is plain. Am I in peril from some lurking and besetting temptation, almost irresistible from the appeals which it makes to my weaker nature? One glance at his pure countenance, one touch of his invigorating hand, and I am my better self again, and have strength to spurn the assaulter away. Have I neglected to seek my helper in season? have I wandered from the right way? and do I at length see and deplore my fault, confused and ashamed? I hear his voice, not repelling me by harsh accents, but gently accepting my repentance, and inviting my return. Is my heart deeply pierced by disappointment or any grievous sorrow? or is my flesh troubled by racking pain? I look to the man of sorrows, to the suffering Lamb of God, to his bleeding temples, to his agonizing cross; and his wounds are the healing of mine. Do I stand by the bedside of a departing friend, feeling that I am wretched, and that when the final breath is breathed I shall be more wretched still, but striving to restrain my tears, in the fear of disturbing the last moments of one I love? Christ is with me where I stand, assuring me that my friend will not die, but only sleep, and that I shall meet him again, and be parted from him no more. I bless the sacred accents, and my tears gather silently, and my bosom

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is calmed. And so when I come myself to the brink of the river, Christ will be with me then, who has been with me always, and the warmth of his dear and glorious presence will dispel the chilly vapors, and he will lead me safely through. What then could I do without him? How can I live, how can I die without him?

"Master! to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life. Thou hast said we can do nothing without thee. Son of God, it is true! Saviour of men, it is true! Thou art the vine, we are the branches. Our spiritual life is nourished and invigorated from thee; and if we bear fruit, it is because we abide in thee, and still receive the vital streams which flow from thee alone." — pp. 148 – 152.

"The Crown of Thorns," is the subject of a very characteristic sermon, in which the preacher, looking with a poet's eye, and speaking with a poet's sensibility, spreads out the sentiments which belong to the contemplation of that mock royalty, and thus calls up the emotions of admiration, trust, and love, with which a believer's heart should glow. "What other crown," he asks, "would we wish to see upon his brow? Among all the wreaths and diadems which have been fashioned by human love, admiration, or servility, or assumed by human pride or power, which would we select as worthy to be bound on the Messiah's head?" Not the crown of flowers, which belongs to the festival; not the crown of monarchs, conquerors, heroes; No; —

"Take away the toys. Let them not come into this hallowed presence. They would only show how dim and worthless they are, near to that unearthly majesty, and by the side of that crown of thorns. Take away the laurel wreath — it is stained with human blood. There is blood too upon the thorns — but it is the Saviour's own. It is his own blood which he now begins to shed for the liberty and the happiness of his brethren, and not the blood of his brethren, poured out after the manner of conquerors, for his own aggrandizement. It is his own blood, dropping down, not for dominion or fame, but for truth, and peace, and virtue. He fought; but not with carnal weapons, and not to enslave the bodies of men, but to emancipate their minds, and to redeem their souls. He fought; not at the instigation of the lusts of the flesh, and in obedience to them, but undauntedly and perseveringly against them. He conquered; but not to increase the power of death, but to weaken and destroy it, to overthrow the hosts of darkness, to burst the bonds of sin and

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the grave. In this warfare he endured hardship, hunger, and thirst, pain, reproach, and contradiction. Humility, patience, meekness, long-suffering, forgiveness, it was by these that the battle was fought and won Take the laurel wreath away. It tells not of struggles and victories like these. The bare and rugged thorns are a more expressive and befitting crown for him who loved us and gave himself for us, and by his death destroyed death. Neither bring the gemmed diadems of royalty instead. They have been too much degraded and soiled by the hands which have usurped them, and the heads on which they have descended. They have clasped brains which were on fire with mad ambition, or teeming with dark schemes of tyranny. They have sat idly on heads which were empty of thought, or only thinking of some selfish indulgence; careless of others' wants, and studious only to create or gratify their own. Why should they be brought here? At best they signify but a partial, fluctuating, and temporary authority, however well improved and exercised, which human fancy and will may overturn, which a few hours may transfer, and which death will soon cover up in dust. Why then should they be brought here? Here is a king anointed directly from on high, with the unmeasured Spirit of God. Here is a ruler who rules over the spirits of men, and will rule forever; for his voice hath gone forth into all lands, his words unto the ends of the world. Here is a monarch unto whom power has been committed, real, permanent power, over nature, over fear, and over time. And it is through suffering that he holds it; and in endurance and self-denial that he exercises it; not consulting his own will, but that of his Father, nor his own ease, but the welfare of all men, yea, of his enemies. Here he stands, in the hall of a Roman viceroy, who, with all his power, has weakly, and against his own wish and judgment, surrendered a just and innocent one to a furious multitude, and a bloody death. Here he stands, amid insulting cries and ferocious blows, supreme and kingly in suffering love; bound, and yet the only free one there; a prisoner, condemned to the cross, and yet redeeming countless spirits from captivity and death, through the grace of his righteousness, and the royal might of his overcoming fortitude. Compare his crown of thorns with Pilate's royal cincture — and say which is the truest emblem of dominion, majesty, and victory. Is there not in every firm-set, pointed thorn, more self-conquest, more spiritual might, more endurance, and more victory, than ever glittered within the compass of a diadem? That twisted bramble is the true crown. Displace it not from the head of the conqueror of death, the redeemer of men, and the king of Israel." — pp. 209 – 212.

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Several other discourses are of a similar poetical structure and expression; as for example, "Voices from Heaven," "Lessons of Autumn," "Peaceful Sleep," "Offices of Memory." Another class of subjects leading more or less indirectly to consolation, through the state of mind which they induce, contains such as the following, among others: — "Dwelling in the Temple; The Good Revealed; Walking by Faith; Lessons of Autumn; Peaceful Sleep; Christ our Fellow Sufferer; Christ with us at Evening."

The sermons directly and immediately consolatory have titles such as these; "Death an Appointment; The Time of Death; The House of Mourning; Consolations of Religion; Blessing God in Bereavement; Recognition of Friends." We take a passage from "Consolations of Religion."

"And this is, in fact, the essence of the doctrine of grace; the doctrine that God is with us and within us, and always ready, not, however, interfering with our liberty, to assist and guide us; to suggest to us those thoughts of purity and virtue, which are powerful, like spells, to drive away the dark spirits of sin and despair; to inspire us with strength in the hour of weakness, and fortitude in the time of distress, and to shed light through the intricate and gloomy passes of our earthly pilgrimage. What can be more consolatory than to believe, as Christianity would have us believe, that the infinite and eternal God takes this direct interest in our happiness, and that he is, in reality, watching over us and in us, every moment, to mark how we improve the merciful intentions of his discipline, and to aid every good disposition which we may manifest, and every good resolution which we may form? Can that spirit yield, or yield long, before any shock of misfortune, which realizes its intimate union with the Father of spirits? Can that soul remain without comfort in any affliction, which hears within itself the still small voice of God, whispering compassion and peace? Can it sink in the stormy waters, when it may call upon its Lord? Can he murmur, who can pray? Can the children of the bridechamber mourn, when the bridegroom is with them? When God communes with us, and we with God, does not an elevation, a calm dignity, a holy reliance follow that communion, which no grief can disturb? Is it fit that the friend and companion of the Almighty should be dismayed at outward and temporary ills? Is it possible that he should? Is it not comfort enough to an humble and contrite and sorrowing heart, that the Holy Spirit dwells in it as in a temple? Shall the voice of complaint, shall an accent of distrust, be heard in that consecrated place? Shall fear and

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despondence appear before that gracious presence? None of these things can be. The Spirit of God is even now, as once at the holiest of baptisms, in the form of a dove. It sheds divine peace in every receiving bosom. It broods over the confused elements of the agitated mind, till darkness becomes light, and chaos is transformed into order and beauty." — pp. 114, 115.

Our readers will be glad to see a few other characteristic passages. Here is one from "Lessons of Autumn."

"The very grass itself as it withers, and the flower as it fades, seem to express such a trust, in their humble manner, and to inculcate it on their withering and fading human brethren. How quietly the grass withers! How submissively the flower bows its head on its stalk; how sweetly it exhales its last odors; how peacefully it fades! — Nature dies gently. — Listen! Do you hear any discordances in her parting sighs? They are all harmonious; — as musical, though with a different character, as the melodies of spring. You may be affected with sadness as you listen, but it is a sadness which soothes and softens, not disturbs and terrifies. I can sympathize with the man who relieves his full heart by weeping amidst the autumnal emblems of human dissolution; but I must only wonder at him if he weeps tears of anguish or despair. I could not weep so, surrounded by such mild and uncomplaining monitors. I perceive that the honors of the forest are resigned without a struggle. Wherever I turn, all is acquiescence. There is no questioning the will of Heaven. There are no cries when the leaves part from their stems, and sink to the ground. How can I do violence to the spirit of submission and trust which is diffused about me? It rebukes my misgivings, if I have indulged any; it silences my repinings, if unthinkingly I have uttered any; it steals into and hushes my heart. Why should we not receive the lessons which nature is, even though unconsciously, teaching us? Why should we break the general peace? Let us trust in the word of God, though it sends forth the decree, 'Return, ye children of men!' Frail, fading, perishing, — what are we without trust? The support of the soul is trust in God, trust in the eternal, undecaying word of God.

"And in nature's decline at this season, it may be observed further, there is not only the expression of quiet submission, but of hope and joy — such joy as they should feel, who, though in extremity, know that the word of the Lord endures forever. There are no richer hues than those of autumn. Though the leaves wither, shrivel, and turn to darkness and dust, they wear their brightest colors just before they die. The trees are not

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clothed in mourning, but in triumphal robes; in scarlet and gold, like kings. Do they not prefigure the deep and solemn joy which may invest and imbue the soul, the trusting soul, in the prospect of the last change? The trees cannot anticipate the new dress which they shall put on, when the warm influences of spring return the sap into their branches; but man may contemplate the season when 'mortality shall be swallowed up of life;' the season not only of restoration, as to nature, but of inconceivable addition; the time when a new earth shall be under him, and new heavens over him, and glories, of which he cannot now form any distinct conception, shall clothe the spirits of the redeemed." — pp. 281 – 283.

Again, "Remembrance of the Righteous."

"But these are far from being all who are remembered. Each circle of friends, each separate family has a memory; and the forms, which are retained by it, are, of all others, the most distinct, the most vivid, and the most dear. What numbers, what numbers are they, of whom the world has never heard, and never will hear, but who live forever in the bosoms of kindred. Beneath every domestic roof, there are more than are counted by the stranger. Spirits are there, whom he does not see, but who are never far from the eyes of the household. He does not see the sprightly child, who once was there in mortal health and beauty; but the child is yet there in spiritual presence, before the vision of father and mother, and wherever they may go, will go with them. He does not see the venerable form which once sat there in placid love and dignity; but it has not departed from that house; son and daughter behold it; it looks on them with wonted kindness, and speaks to them still the words of counsel. He does not see the devoted wife, whom once he might have seen there, the presiding spirit of order, and comfort, and peace, ruling her children with gentleness and discretion, and causing her husband to realize what a refuge, and sanctuary, and heaven-on-earth is home; but from that home she has not wholly departed, nor will ever depart, for her remembrance is there perpetually. Though the body has been borne for the last time from its doors, her spirit remains in its influence over the affections and deportment of the living. To them she utters her voice, and by them she is heard; and the husband is not wholly alone, and the tender minds of the children are moulded insensibly by the very name of her who watched over their infancy. There is something of this in every house, which love and virtue entitle to the name of home; in every family where mortality has taught the lessons of immortal faith and hope. Steps are on

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the stair, but not for common ears; and familiar places and objects restore familiar smiles, and tears, and acts of goodness, which are seen by memory alone.

"Who shall enumerate the blessed multitude of those, who, dead to all on earth beside, live always in the hearts of those who knew them and loved them. The body may be far distant, but the spirit is brought near by remembrance, and dwells ever at home. The mortal remains of a friend may be covered by a foreign soil, and strange and heedless feet may tread on the spot where they lie; but the soul returns to its own country, and communes with its own kindred. That which was corruptible may have been committed to the deep, and the track of the receding vessel be the only path to the place of its sepulture; but the waves cannot roll over the uplifted and imperishable spirit." — pp. 136 – 138.

Once more, "Offices of Memory."

"Who will say that they have never committed sin, and therefore cannot be annoyed by its remembrance? If there be any such, they must be answered in the words of St. John, 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.' It cannot be true that we have no sin. The most obstinate self-deception alone could induce us to maintain an assertion so easily refuted, and so contrary to all experience. What! Have we never wasted our time; never abused our faculties and privileges; never disobeyed, with the full knowledge of the wrong, a commandment of God? Have we never raised expectations, and then idly or intentionally neglected to satisfy them, thereby causing disappointment and pain? Have we never failed to state the clear and open truth, through fear, or pride, or some other motive worse even than those? Have we never detained what was not rightfully our own; never taken an unfair advantage of our neighbor; never perverted the power of authority or love which has been placed in our hands, so that instead of a refuge, it became a torment? Have we been guilty of no sacret faults or crimes? — But I will ask no more questions of this nature. Surely we have sinned and done wickedly. Let us not aggravate our offences by denying that we have offended; but when memory repeats to our hearts the history of our misdeeds, let us receive the rebuke patiently, nay, even reverently, that we may be profited, perhaps saved. * * * *

"But have we repented of sin, and felt that we have been forgiven? Even then let memory come and tell again the history of error and disobedience. The recital will remind us of our frailty, convince us of our sinfulness; and we shall thus be put

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upon our guard against future acts of folly and rebellion. A shield will be given us against impending danger; a motive to increased precaution and vigilance. Beacon lights will gleam out from the past, to guide our present course, and warn us of the old and sunken perils. In times of excitement, of delusion, of trial, when the enemies of our virtue and constancy are out upon us with their forces, and we waver in the conflict, happy will it be for us then, if the memory of former guilt rise up and interpose itself between us and them, point to the melancholy consequences of defeat, and stimulate us to the victory. Good reason we shall have to render thanks to God, and ascribe to him the power and the praise, crying, 'Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name give the glory.'" — pp. 308 – 311.

We have endeavored in a hasty survey, to give some idea of the general contents and character of this volume; esteeming the best recommendation of a good book to be its introduction to the knowledge of those whom we desire to read it, rather than a mere description. Here then we leave it. May it give the pleasure which it ought, and do the good for which it is designed.

H. W., JR.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A Residence of Eight Years in Persia, among the Nestorian Christians; with notices of Muhammedans: by Rev. JUSTIN PERKINS; with a Map and 27 Plates. Andover: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell. 1843. 8vo. pp. 512.

OF this large and imposing volume, of more than five hundred pages, we cannot pretend, within any limits now at our command to give a full and sitisfactory account. We have not been able to read it with such attention, as to feel competent to decide very confidently either upon the merits of the book, or upon the manner in which the author and his fellow laborers discharged their duties as Christian missionaries, and fulfilled the just expectations of those who commissioned them. Nevertheless we have read it with sufficient attention to perceive, that the work contains a large amount of valuable information about a country, with which we are little familiar, about manners and modes of life always interesting from their relation to those of the ancient inhabitants of Asia, and concerning the Nestorian Christians, a small remnant of those who, in the 5th century, followed into banishment the excommunicated bishop of Constantinople. It would give us pleasure to watch the course of action adopted by the missionaries to note their methods and state their results, and this we may do at another time. At present the pleasure of the reader will be better consulted, and his profit also, by gleaning from these ample pages a little of the information which the author of the work has been eight years in accumulating.

The seat or field of the mission lay in the northwest part of modern Persia, between the Black and the southern end of the Caspian seas, but much nearer the latter. The station was first for a short time at Tabreez, but permanently afterwards at Oróomiah, a city on the shore of a lake of the same name. Of the situation, aspect of the country, population, &c., let the author speak.

"The district of *Oróomiah* consists of a magnificent plain, situated at the eastern base of the Koordish mountains, and extending from them to the beautiful lake of the same name. The *lake* of Oróomiah is about eighty miles in length and thirty in breadth, lying in direction a little to the west of north and east of south. Its waters are very salt, perhaps as much so as the waters of the Dead Sea. No fish are found in

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it; but fowl, particularly the duck and flamingo, frequent it in great numbers. The *plain* of Oróomiah is about forty miles in length, lying upon the central section of the lake, and in its broadest part, is about twenty miles wide. Imposing branches of the Koordish mountains sweep down quite to the waters of the lake, at the extremities of the plain, enclosing it like a vast amphitheatre. This great plain, with the adjacent declivities of the mountains, comprising an area of about six hundred square miles, contains at least three hundred and thirty villages. It is amply watered by three considerable rivers, (i. e. considerable, for *Persia*, each being from one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet wide,) besides many smaller streams. Its soil is extremely fertile, and is all under high cultivation. Its staple productions are wheat, rice, cotton, tobacco, and the vine. It also abounds in a great variety of fruits. Besides its ten or twelve species of the grape, it yields cherries, apricots, apples, pears, quinces, peaches, plums, melons, nuts, etc. in most ample abundance. And such is the number of orchards and trees, planted along 'the water courses,' on all parts of the plain, as to give much of it the appearance of American forests.

"About twelve miles back from the lake and about two miles from the mountains, is the *city* of Oróomiah. It is the ancient Thebarma, the birth-place, as tradition says, of Zoroäster, the founder of the ancient sect of fire-worshippers; a tradition which is rendered, perhaps, the more credible, from the fact, that there are, on different parts of the plain, several artificial mounds, each covering an area of an acre or more, and rising to a height of fifty or seventy feet, which seem to be vast piles of ashes, that accumulated during the lapse of centuries, under the 'perpetual fires,' before which they paid their adoration. This is the explanation which the native inhabitants give of these monuments; and I see no particular reason to question its accuracy. The city contains about twenty-five thousand inhabitants. It is nearly four miles in circumference. Like other cities of Persia, it is surrounded by a mud-wall and a ditch; and most of its houses are built of unburnt brick. Its markets are good, for this country; its streets are wider than are common, in Eastern cities; and it has a very agreeable air of comfort, from the great number of shade-trees, interspersed among the houses.

"From elevations back of the city, the beholder, as he looks down upon the gardens directly below him, — and then, upon the city, half buried in shrubbery, — and next, over the vast plain, studded with its hundreds of villages, verdant with thousands of orchards and hedges of poplars, willows, and sycamores, upon the streams, and gleaming with almost illimitable fields, waving a golden harvest, — and farther still, upon the azure bosom of the placid lake, beaming and sparkling like an immense mirror, under the brilliancy of the pure Persian sky, — and finally, upon the blue mountains, far in the distance beyond the lake, — one of the loveliest and grandest specimens of natural scenery is spread out before him, that was ever presented to the eye of man. * * * * Not more than six hundred Nestorians reside in the *city* of Oróomiah. They are principally in a compact position, adjacent to which the premises of our mission are situated. There are about two thousand Jews in the city, and the remaining part of the population are Mŭhammedans." * * *

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"To the Christian scholar, the *language* and *literature* of the Nestorian Christians are objects of much interest. Their ancient language is the *Syriac*, — by some supposed to have been the common language in Palestine in the days of Christ, and the same in which the Saviour himself conversed and preached, and probably not differing much from it. This language is still the *literary language* of the Nestorians. Their Books are nearly all written in it. They conduct their epistolary correspondence in it; and though a *dead language*, the best educated of their clergy become able to converse in it with fluency. * * The *vernacular* language of the Nestorians is a modern dialect of the ancient Syriac, much barbarized by inversions, contractions, and abbreviations, and by the introduction of a great number of Persian, Koordish, and Turkish words, each class prevailing respectively, in a particular district, in proportion as it is situated near to the people using either of those languages. Though thus corrupted, however, as now spoken by the Nestorians, the body of the language comes directly from the venerable ancient Syriac, as clearly as the modern Greek comes from the ancient. It is a softer language than the ancient Syriac, its guttural words being fewer, and its nouns even more extensively ending in open vowel sounds. The accent is almost invariably upon the penult syllable." * *

"The few books which the Nestorians possess, however, are objects of deep interest. Among them are found the *whole of the Holy Scriptures*, with the following exceptions, viz., the epistle of Jude, the second and third epistles of John, the second of Peter, and the Revelation; also, the account of the woman taken in adultery in John viii, and the much discussed passage in 1 John v. 7, none of which are found in any of their Ms. copies, or seem to have been known to them until introduced by us, in the printed editions of the British and Foreign Bible Society; i. e. the *Peschito* is the only version of the New Testament with which they seem ever to have been acquainted. They make no objection to these portions of the Scriptures, as introduced by us, but readily recognise and acknowledge them as canonical. Their Scriptures are not found in *one volume*, but are usually in six, the division being as follows, viz., 1. The Pentateuch, copies of which are not so rare as some other portions. 2. The remaining books of the Old Testament as far as the Psalms, with the exception of the two books of Chronicles, copies, few. 3. The two books of Chronicles, copies of which are very rare. 4. The Psalms, copies comparatively numerous. 5. The Prophets, copies rare. 6. The New Testament, copies more numerous than of any other portions except the Psalms. In the *second book*, in this list, occurs the apochryphal work, *Ecclesiasticus*, or the *Wisdom of Sirach*, and most of the other books of the apochrypha, as known to Europeans, are mentioned as existing in the mountains. The Nestorians have also, in a separate volume, a work purporting to be the *Revelation of Paul*, which is said to consist of communications of the 'unutterable words, which,' he tells us, 'it is not lawful for man to utter,' that he heard, when he was 'caught up to the third heavens.'" — pp. 7 – 14.

Mr. Perkins speaks of manuscripts of the Bible, whose claims to great antiquity one would desire to see learnedly investigated.

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"Among the books of the Nestorians are some very *ancient* manuscripts. There are copies of the New Testament, for instance, written, some on parchment and some on paper, which date back about six hundred years. Some of these are written in the Estrangelo, and some in the common Nestorian character. The very ancient copies of the Scriptures are regarded by the Nestorians with much veneration, and are used with great care. They are kept wrapped in successive envelopes, and when taken into the hands, are reverently kissed, as very hallowed treasures. In the village of Kówsee, is a copy of the New Testament, which purports to be fifteen hundred years old. A few of the first parchment leaves are gone, and their place is supplied by paper, on which that early date is recorded, with how much authority is uncertain. The *rubrics*, in most ancient copies, moreover, betray a later origin than tradition or their dates would claim for them. I tried to borrow the revered copy here mentioned, to bring with me to America, as an object of interest; but the Mŭhammedan master of the village interposed, and forbade its being taken away, apprehending that some dire calamity would befal the inhabitants, should so sacred a deposit be removed from among them. And such is the reputation of its antiquity and sanctity, that Mŭhammedans, as well as Nestorians, are sometimes sworn upon that New Testament." — p. 16.

There are nine ecclesiastical orders among the Nestorians. Celibacy is required of all the Episcopal orders, and abstinence from animal food. The bishops are supported by a small tax, but are poor, and live in the simplest manner. "The religious belief and practices of the Nestorians are much more simple and scriptural than those of other oriental Christians. They have the deepest abhorrence of all image worship, auricular confession, the doctrine of purgatory, and many other corrupt dogmas and practices of the Papal, Greek, and Armenian churches; while they cherish the highest reverence for the Holy Scriptures, and, in theory at least, exalt them far above all human traditions. Their doctrinal tenets, so far as I have learned them, are, in general, quite clearly expressed and correct. On the momentous subject of the divinity of Christ, in relation to which the charge of heresy is so violently thrown upon them by the Papal and other oriental sects, their belief is orthodox and scriptural." They are described also as charitable towards other sects of Christians.

These facts are drawn from a general introduction to the work, in which is condensed much general information. Our remaining extracts shall be from the body of the work, after the missionaries were established in their quarters. To read the following paragraphs should bring a blush of shame upon the face of New England distillers and traders. They are in answer to inquiries propounded in letters from America.

"'To the several points on which you request information, I will

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reply in the order in which you state them. *What are the habits of the people with regard to temperance?* While I search in vain among the people around me for a single trait that ennobles my native country, one circumstance, which is characteristic alike of Persia and America, is almost daily thrust upon my view, viz. beastly intemperance. *What are the principal means of intoxication? Among what classes and to what extent does that vice prevail?* The intoxicating article, most used here, is the wine of the country, which is almost as plentiful and cheap as the springs of water. Another article, considerably used, is arrák, (Asiatic brandy,) distilled from dried grapes, or from the residue after the wine is extracted. European liquors are also rolling in upon the country like a flood. Our missionary brethren, who have just arrived, were preceded but one week by a caravan, bearing among other poisons of the kind, *eighteen barrels of New England rum!* What an indignity cast upon the poor brutes even, that are made to plod their way over a journey of near seven hundred miles, crossing almost impassable mountains, and groaning beneath their almost intolerable burdens, which tend only to degrade the species that drive them incomparably below themselves! I see no other article of American manufacture, in the markets here, than New England rum. Can the enterprising of my country send to Mŭhammedan Persia no better commercial representative! Well may the American churches multiply their missionaries to this country, if it were merely to repair the evils that are sown here by *New England rum!* I may say in general that intemperance prevails among all classes in Persia. Many — a great many, of the Nestorians are intemperate; and the Armenians are still more fearfully so. The Mŭhammedans too are becoming intemperate. Though their Prophet forbade the use of wine, and as he supposed, of all intoxicating drinks, inasmuch as the art of distillation was then unknown, still multitudes in Persia, in the face of what they assert to be a *divine prohibition*, give themselves up to habitual intemperance. While they despise the Christian population, as they detest the dogs in the streets and the swine upon the mountains, they still shamefully wallow with these same nominal Christians in this filthiest of their vices.

"'The extent to which intemperance prevails, among the nominal Christians of this country, may be inferred from two or three facts. The *Sabbath* is particularly devoted to dissipation. The mummery of their religious forms is repeated at a very early hour in the morning, and the rest of the day is given up, by the mass, to festivity and carousal. During some of their numerous *fasts*, the more rigid part abstain from the use of wine. But in anticipation of the abstinence, and to make up for it, each fast is introduced and followed by a drunken revel. And such is the impression, which the intemperance of the nominal Christians makes upon the Mŭhammedan neighbors, that often when a Mŭhammedan is seen intoxicated, his countrymen tauntingly exclaim, *that man has left Muhammed and has gone to Jesus!*

"'Among the Mŭhammedans also, particularly among the higher classes, many of whom are becoming lax and skeptical in regard to the claims of their religion, intemperance prevails to an appalling extent. I sometimes see respectable merchants falling down in the streets, or reeling in the arms of their companions. Soon after Dr. Grant's arrival, I accompanied him to the palace to introduce him to the governor of

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this city. His Excellency was ill — broken down by hard drinking — and he requested the Dr. to do something for him. Dr. G. examined his case and made out a prescription, directing, that while taking the medicine, he should eat no stimulating food and drink no wine. The governor replied, I cannot go a day without my wine. This poor man is young, amiable, and intelligent; but like numbers of his rank in Persia, is a self-immolated victim to the bloody shrine of Bacchus.

"'*Is intemperance on the increase, or has it within a few years been diminished?* The evil has of late rapidly increased in Persia, particularly since the importation of European liquors commenced. The Mŭhammedans make no virtue of *moderate* drinking. They regard it as the peculiar privilege of Christians, to drink alcohol, and think they live greatly below their privilege, if they fail to drink it to intoxication. And whenever they themselves break over their scruples and fall into the use of intoxicating liquors at all, they act in full consistency with these principles. The *rapid increase* of intemperance among the Mŭhammedans is the consequence.'" * * *

"Still there is hope even for Persia. One of the most animating scenes that I have witnessed since my return to America, was the Washingtonian celebration, in May, 1842, in Boston. As I stood upon the beautiful common, and watched the vast procession, moving on with manly step to the martial airs, and read the various appropriate mottoes on their shining banners, a thrill of moral sublimity kindled in my bosom that I had seldom if ever experienced. I was saddened, however, when I thought of *Persia* in contrast; but again I was cheered; for in that procession I saw a pledge, as I thought, that *Boston*, at least, would inflict on Persia little more *New England rum;* and round the world the star of temperance moves." — pp. 225 – 227.

We select a scene truly oriental — a Nestorian marriage; it was in a neighboring village.

"We started about 9 o'clock in the morning, Mar Yohannan accompanying us. The weather was mild and very fine, — almost like a morning of September in America, though the tops of the lower mountains were clad by a recent fall of snow. As we approached the village, a great concourse came out with trumpets and drums to escort us. *Welcome, Welcome,* echoing from the multitude of voices and mingling with the rattle of their rude music made the whole region resound. And not the least agreeable circumstance was the frequent salutation of *good morning*, from numerous boys belonging to the English school, which priest Abraham had opened in this, his native village. After passing half way round the village, in a crowd of men, women, and children, so dense as often completely to hedge up our horses' way, we reached the house of the chief man, where the wedding was to be celebrated. The bridegroom, on the occasion, was his adopted son. A fat buffalo had just been knocked down before the door. When we entered the house, the bride stood like a veiled statue in the farther corner of a very large room, which was soon filled to overflowing by the rushing multitude; — the bridegroom with red feathers in his cap among the rest, — who had been out to welcome our coming.

"It is the practice of the Nestorians to have the marriage ceremony

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performed in their churches and very early — commencing at least an hour before day — because the services are long, and the nuptial parties and all the ecclesiastics, who participate in the performance, are obliged to abstain from food, on the wedding day, until after the ceremony. But in this instance, to gratify us, they had deferred the marriage till our arrival — 10 o'clock, A. M. — and instead of assembling in the church, they had for our better convenience prepared to perform the service at this dwelling.

"As the crowd drew up around us, in anticipation of the commencement of the ceremony, Mar Yohannan gave direction, that inasmuch as strangers were present, they should all be careful to make much less noise than is usual on such occasions. Priest Abraham was the principal officiator, but was assisted by two other priests and several deacons of the village, who joined with him in reading the prayers and select portions of Scripture — such as the account of Abraham's sending after Rebecca for his son Isaac, Jacob's serving for Rachel, and all the other venerable scripture authorities that enter into their marriage service; the whole of which would doubtless be more interesting, if not more instructive, were it not read in an unknown tongue. The bride retained her place veiled in the farther corner of the room about an hour, the bridegroom meanwhile standing near the officiating ecclesiastics. They then arrived at a point where hands were to be joined, this being made known by the ecclesiastics who alone understood the service. Several women instantly caught hold of the still veiled bride and pulled her by main strength half across the room toward her intended husband; and several men at the same time seized the bridegroom who was at first equally resolute in his modest resistance, but finally yielded and advanced toward the bride. A smart struggle ensued in his efforts to secure her hand; but he at length succeeded, and both, with great apparent submission, then took a standing attitude near the officiating clergy. The regular routine of reading occupied another hour or more, when, first the bishops and after them the multitude — we of course among the rest — advanced and kissed the married pair.

"In the course of Mar Yohannan's visit in America, a clergyman with whom we passed a Sabbath, had an application to marry a couple at his dwelling a few moments before the bell rung for a third meeting. He performed the cermony in our presence, with all due solemnity of course, but in a formula so comprehensive and brief that he occupied, besides his short prayer, I think only a minute and a half. The bishop, remembering the Nestorian marriage service, by way of contrast, humorously asked, 'Do you *marry* people on *rail-roads* too?' I regretted that my esteemed ministerial brother had not — at least in that instance for the sake of the bishop — attached to his marriage formula a small quota of the length of which the Nestorians have so much to spare." — pp. 234, 235.

A marriage among the Persians is afterward described.

"In the evening, we attended a Mŭhammedan wedding, to which we had received a repeated invitation. The bridegroom is the son of a Khân, very high in rank, who resides quite near us. We called at the door by which we had been accustomed to enter the Khân's

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mansion, but were informed that the house was filled with *ladies*, who had assembled there to celebrate the wedding; and we were directed to the next door — the house of the Khân's brother. Persian females are not allowed to be present with males at weddings. The guest-chamber, to which we were conducted, is a splendid room, fifty feet long and twenty feet wide, elegantly carpetted. Carpets, and the mangel, (*fire-pan*,) in winter, are the only articles of furniture used by the nobility in Persia. Sitting upon the floor and eating with the fingers are *economical* customs. A row of Persian nobles sat shoulder to shoulder around the great hall. At the head, was Jenghâir Khân, eldest son of the governor. As we entered the room, he rose and beckoned us to seats by himself. Thus seated, we had on one hand this son of the governor, a high Moollâh, a Koordish Pashâ from the region of Mesopotamia. Khâns, begs, sultâns, and so on, in a descending order, down to the servants who stood around the door. On the other hand sat the chief Moollâh of the province; next the commander of the troops of Oróomiah; after him a younger son of the governor, and Khâns, begs, etc., descending in gradation as described on the other side. The utmost precision is observed in being seated in company according to *rank* in Persia, an observance which imparts peculiar vividness in the injunction of Christ, 'When thou art bidden of any man to a wedding, sit not down at the highest room, (place,) lest a more honorable man than thou be bidden of him; and he that bade thee and him come and say to thee, give this man place; and thou begin with shame to take the lowest room.' As we sat among these high Persian dignitaries — *they*, easy and graceful in their loose flowing robes — *we*, girded and constrained in our tight coats and pantaloons, with a feeling of *nakedness* by the contrast, and tilted in the half sitting Persian posture upon our *feet*, which would soon have become clamorous enough in remonstrance, could they have uttered half what they *felt*; they, so fluent, bowing, and profuse in their compliments — and we, scarcely able to command expressions enough to acknowledge their civilities, and these only in the stammering, broken accents of a foreigner with but a smattering of their language, — it must be confessed, that we were in our own eyes, however we might appear in theirs, *very small men*. And, if I mistake not, many a foreigner in the east, experiences these feelings. They, however, with at least a *show* of real politeness, took no advantage of our embarrassing circumstances, but seemed to study to render themselves agreeable and us comfortable.

"Our entertainment, prepared and served in Persian style, was rich but perfectly plain. The liquors could not have offended a temperance agent in America. The principal one was sherbét — water sweetened with loaf sugar and flavored with some aromatic. To the reproach of the Christian name, the Mŭhammedans are the most temperate class in Persia, the Koran forbidding the use of wine. At present, however, as has been remarked, intemperance is making terrible inroads among the followers of the False Prophet, as their reverence for their religion is diminishing; and to a great extent, by foreign influence. It has not, however, yet acquired respectability enough among the Mŭhammedans to lead them to hazard the introduction of wine at a wedding. Will Christendom present to the Persians, as they relax their hold on the system of Mŭhammed, no better substitute, than the most fearful of her vices?

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"The fact of our being admitted to a Mŭhammedan wedding is so novel, that the reader will indulge me, in going a little more into detail, in relation to our entertainment. Soon after we were seated, upon the carpet, gül-aub, (rose-water,) was passed around in small china cruets and poured into the hands of each guest, with which he moistened and scented his beard. Next, water and napkins were carried around, that each might wash his hands in preparation for the meal. The Persians, like the Jews, except they wash oft, eat not. A cotton table-cloth, four feet wide, and long enough to extend around the great hall on all the sides except the one which is entered by the door, was spread upon the carpet; and the dishes, brought in upon circular copper waiters, perhaps three feet in diameter, were placed upon the cloth. A cluster of four or six individuals, as the case may be, eat in common from the dishes upon a single waiter. The large wooden trays, or waiters, used by the Nestorians and the Mŭhammedan peasants, are employed, by the higher classes, for presenting sweet-meats, at public entertainments, but not for the dishes at a regular meal. Those used by the latter, are often six or eight feet long, elegantly wrought and neatly varnished. First came the sherbét, in cups like tea, sprinkled over with a delicious mucilaginous seed. Next was brought the principal meal, the main article of which was pilâv* — boiled rice, (next to bread, the Persians' staff of life,) — served up with baked lamb and fowls. For plates, we used the very thin large bread cakes of the country; and for knives and forks, our fingers, reclining on the left elbow and using only the right hand. At the close of the meal, water was passed around, and we again washed our hands. The conversation had all the while been lively, but dignified. The two high Moollâhs now retired, from a sense of propriety, as it afterwards appeared, just as clergymen in America are accustomed to retire, before recreations, savoring of levity, are introduced.

"We also rose to retire with the Mŭhammedan ecclesiastics, but the ruler of the feast importuned us to stay a little longer, and to gratify his wishes and amuse our own curiosity, we remained. 'Music and dancing' were soon introduced. The musicians were three in number, two using tambourines, and one, a rude violin. They played plaintive, oriental airs, and accompanied their instruments with their voices, in shrill, screeching tones, that to an American or European ear sound

* This favorite oriental dish is difficult to describe, and yet more difficult to imitate, though it is simply, *cooked rice*. The rice is first boiled, but in such a manner that the kernels are preserved whole, though fully swollen. The water is then poured off, after which the rice is further cooked with a plenty of butter; and if roast lamb or chickens constitute a part of the meal, these are laid upon the rice, which adds to its delicate seasoning. Onions, of which the Persians are very fond, are sometimes boiled or fried, and laid also upon the rice — the latter in all cases forming the substratum and the essential part of the meal. I must be allowed honestly to testify my attachment to Pilâv, though not particularly fond of rice as cooked in America. And I may say in general, that it is not, in my opinion, merely an *acquired* taste, which renders several oriental dishes as great favorites with Europeans and Americans, who reside in the East, as the dainties of their native countries.

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most like the cries of distress. There was only a single dancer, but he a very nimble one, now whirling upon his heels with the velocity of a top, and anon leaping all over the room, assuming the most eccentric attitudes and grimaces, and occasionally turning a summerset. This dancer is a Lesgi, by nation, from the south-eastern corner of the Caucasus. Numbers of these people have from time immemorial strolled over these regions in the capacity of minstrels. The music and dancing continued about half an hour, at the close of which we retired. The main zest of an American wedding was wanting in this, viz. the presence of the married pair. Among the Persians, the nuptials are performed privately by the Moollâhs, at the mosks. The wedding was grand and imposing, however, and vividly reminded us of the force of the parables of our Saviour, in which he represents the kingdom of heaven under the figure of an Eastern noble making a 'marriage for his son.'" — pp. 267 – 270.

Funeral customs among the Nestorians and Mŭhammedans.

"This forenoon, we attended his funeral [the son of a priest]. The Nestorians always bury their dead as speedily as practicable after decease. A large number were assembled in the church-yard, where the funeral service was read, which was simple, but solemn and impressive. One part in particular was very affecting, in which the bishop took his stand on the grave, after it was filled, and repeated, 'Farewell, my brother; thou hast departed from this to the other world; thou shalt suffer no harm nor loss; Christ will raise thee up at the resurrection!'

"After the funeral, priest Abraham, on my making some inquiries, relative to their funeral service, proposed that we should translate it into the vernacular language, for the benefit of the people. The suggestion is a good one, though parts of it would need to be omitted, as it embraces prayers for the repose of the dead, to be recited at the grave three days after interment. That period is observed, in memory of the visitation of the Saviour's tomb on the third day, by the pious women. On the seventh day after burial, the relatives of the deceased receive visits, and the males shave their heads, and all wash and change their garments, as an emblem of the *seventh* period which is to be ushered in and gladdened by millennial rejoicings. For all their religious observances the Nestorians can assign *reasons*, though many of them are singularly puerile.

"'Going to the grave and weeping there,' is even more common among the Mŭhammedans than among the native Christians, especially among the females. The great cemeteries around the city of Orómiah are thronged, on some of their festival days, and more or less on other occasions, and present affecting scenes, not less in the thoughtless levity of the mass, than in the dolorous lamentations of the few. I have frequently observed a circle of women, sitting on the ground, around a grave, in a cold winter's day, and wailing most piteously over the dust of a departed friend." — pp. 405, 406.

On Persian schools we find the following.

"I have nowhere described the native Persian schools and colleges. Of the common schools Malcolm remarks, 'Almost all the tradesmen

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and many of the mechanics have received some education. There are schools in every town and city, in which the rudiments of Persian and Arabic are taught. The child who attends one of them, after learning the alphabet, is made, as a religious duty, to read the Koran in Arabic; which he usually does, without understanding a word of it. He is next taught to read some fables in Persian, and to write a legible hand. Here his education commonly ends; and unless he is led by his inclination to study, or his occupation requires that he should practise what he has learned, his lessons are soon forgotten. But this education, slight and superficial as it may seem, has the effect of changing the habits, and of introducing a degree of refinement among those who use it, unknown to their ruder countrymen.' It is a grateful sight to witness the beautiful Persian children, boys and girls, with their satchels on their arms, going to school. They are, however, as Sir J. Malcolm further remarks, 'often under the management of ignorant pedants.' These pedagogues, who are usually from the lower classes of the Moollâhs, or the candidates for that profession, sit in the school-room, writing lessons or letters, or copying books, upon the knee, while the scholars are scattered promiscuously on the rush-mat over the room, all reading aloud — each a different lesson — at the same time; the learners constantly swinging the body back and forth, as they sit upon the knees and feet, to keep from weariness, and the whole presenting a scene of singular confusion. The master, however, with his long rod always by his side — no despirer of Solomon's counsel — deals out a bountiful quota of stripes for anything in his view approaching to irregularity; and the indomitables are not unfrequently bound to the small Fălléḳ (whipping-pole) which is kept near for the purpose, and bastinadoed, though mere children. Imperfect as is their education, however, they do, as above suggested, acquire an ease and grace of manners, a propriety of deportment and polish of expression, which they carry with them through life.

"The higher *Maddréssehs*, or colleges, formerly so renowned in Persia, are at present, for the most part, in a low state — another proof of the waning tendency of Mŭhammedism. The edifices usually resemble the caravanseráis, in the apartments of which the students and professors often reside. Most of them are in a dilapidated state, and present a cheerless aspect. Arabic and Persian literature, and the Mŭhammedan law and religion are studied in them." — pp. 436, 437.

The volume is illustrated, but scarcely adorned, by numerous engravings. Costume is well enough represented; but the arms and hands of the figures are like those that have been contracted and distorted by palsy.

The Christian Name and Christian Liberty: A Sermon preached at the Church in Brattle Square, on Sunday, October 30, 1842. By Samuel K. Lothrop. Boston, 1843. pp. 39.

This sermon was called forth by an anonymous note, requesting the author "to define his position and opinions as to two

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points; First, as to the measure of faith that constitutes a man a Christian, that is, gives him a claim to the Christian name and privileges; Secondly, as to the principles of Christian liberty; What are they? How to be applied?"

We propose to give a cursory analysis of Mr. Lothrop's answer to these questions, using his own words, where the necessary brevity of this notice will permit.

"To determine what constitutes a man a Christian, we must determine what Christianity is. It is 'a religion of facts,'—'a positive and authoritative revelation.' The objection to placing Christianity on its historical foundation applies with equal force to all branches of human knowledge, even the most common and the most useful. All may not indeed be able to investigate testimony and weigh authority; but all can understand the character and validity of the kind of testimony and authority alleged, and the less informed may, in religious as well as in secular knowledge, take the minute details of proof as established by the general consent of those competent for their investigation. But, were we to leave authority out of the question, and to make the 'moral sense' the sole basis of faith, Christianity is no less a religion of facts, and Christian faith necessarily implies and includes a belief in those facts. There is no such thing as separating the didactic and historical, the natural and supernatural, in the records of the Evangelists, without a result, which on the one hand outrages historic probability, and on the other shocks the moral sense. Make the attempt with the eleventh chapter of John's Gospel, where the resurrection of Lazarus is described. 'Say, if you can, where is the break in the story, the point of transition from truth to falsehood, from history to fiction.' In separating them, you make the scene at the sepulchre one, which could by no possibility have occurred, and degrade the majesty and sublimity of the Saviour's mien and words into pretension and rhodomontade. Who then is a Christian as to his belief? He, who 'receives the Gospel as historically true.'"

"This," says the author, "I conceive to be the broad and distinctive foundation of Christian faith. All who stand upon this foundation I am ready to acknowledge as Christians. Let their creed be what it may, if they go to the teachings of Christ, to the New Testament as a record of facts, for authority and proof to establish and sustain that creed, I call them Christians, embraced among the disciples of Christ. More than this I am not disposed to demand, less than this I dare not concede as sufficient. If a man merely bow to Christ as an extraordinary religious genius, whose character, though distinguished for its moral elevation and purity, was yet marked, he thinks, by some inconsistencies and imperfections, which, however, he is

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willing to overlook, as, *considering the youth of the man, very venial errors*, if he does not regard him as invested with any direct divine authority, as no more inspired than we all may be, *if we will pay the price;* if he places Jesus Christ and the Scriptures upon the same platform with Plato and Socrates and their writings, and receives and approves his instructions simply because he thinks them pure and good, the best he finds; if this is the extent of his faith and acknowledgments, I am not prepared to give such latitude to the appellation of Christian, so to destroy all meaning and force in it, as to apply it to him. Christianity is either a direct divine revelation, or it is not. It is historically true, or historically false. If it be a divine revelation, historically true, it must be admitted to demand a more respectful acknowledgment, than simply that its system of ethics is pure and its author an extraordinary religious genius; and if a man deem it historically false, and no more directly a revelation than the teachings of all eminently gifted minds are a revelation, there seems to be neither reason nor propriety in his claiming to be, or wishing to be called a Christian believer." — pp. 19, 20.

With regard to the second question, there is a wide distinction between *religious* and *Christian* liberty. Our civil institutions concede, as they ought, to every individual "the utmost liberty, compatible with public safety, to adopt and enjoy what religious faith he chooses." But, while, in accordance with sound principles of religious liberty, no man is forced to be a Christian, or made to suffer for not being one, "is there, or is there not, any line of demarkation between Christian believers and those who are not Christian believers?" If there is, where is the line to be drawn? Shall it be drawn, so as to entitle to the name and privileges of Christians all, who receive as truth the substance of what Christ taught, whether they believe or not the supernatural facts connected with his history? No; for a line thus drawn would involve manifest absurdities. Truth is eternal. "The substance of what Christ taught has been floating in men's minds, apprehended with greater or less distinctness, held to with stronger or weaker faith, ever since man was created. We are not to look in a revelation for new truths, — truths that are absolutely and entirely novel to the human mind, never before thought of and inquired about." On all the subjects of the Christian revelation, the truth has been received by many, who were ignorant of the name of Jesus, and by many, who have scornfully denied his name. A line drawn on the principle that "the substance of faith is faith," would embrace "the most noted deistical writers of the last three centuries," would adorn them with a name which they despised, and ascribe to them a faith which they denied and opposed. Moreover, how are we to get at "the substance" of what Christ taught? He is his religion. He taught more by his life than

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by his words; and the supernatural element runs through the whole tissue of his life. His life, therefore, as it stands in the records of the evangelists, is essential to the identification of the substance of his teachings, — it must ever be the standard of Christian belief; and to draw the "line of demarkation" without reference to it is to "overturn the foundations of faith." "The question, which is vital to Christianity, is whether the apostolic testimony be true or false, — whether God did, or did not, raise up Jesus of Nazareth, and send him to enlighten, bless, and save the world, as the Evangelists have testified. This is the vital question; here is the line of demarkation; here is the grand foundation of Christianity."

"My brief answer then to the question, what is Christian liberty? is, it is liberty to be a Christian. It is liberty to go to the New Testament as a genuine and authentic history of the teachings, conduct, and character of Christ, and according to the best lights of reason, history and criticism, interpret that record, and gather and deduce from it such truths and doctrines, as such interpretation seems to the individual to sustain and establish. It is liberty therefore to be a Catholic, if one thinks he finds, in the teachings of Christ and his Apostles, enough to sustain the pretensions of the Catholic church. It is liberty to be an Episcopalian, if one thinks that the doctrines and administration of that church are those Christ and his Apostles established. It is liberty to be a Baptist, if one finds there that which convinces him that immersion is the great sign of sanctification and redemption. It is liberty to be a Trinitarian, if one finds there that which satisfies him that the doctrine of the Trinity is revealed truth. It is liberty to be an Unitarian, if one finds there that which makes him believe that the Trinity is not true, and that Christ the Son is inferior to and dependent upon God the Father. It is liberty to hold any opinions and truths, and to be earnest and zealous in their advocacy, which one believes that book, rightly interpreted, establishes. It is *not* liberty to disparage the record, to deny its most momentous facts and set them aside as fables, and yet claim to believe in a religion, of which we can have and can procure no satisfactory knowledge, save from that record. It is *not* liberty to call Jesus Lord, and yet maintain that he had no special inspiration, that he spake with no more authority than that which the bare annunciation of truth gives to every one that utters it, that he did not works which no man could do save God were with him in the world, — and thus make, either him an impostor, or the Evangelists and apostles false witnesses and participators in a pious fraud." pp. 37, 38.

In conclusion, we cannot but express the hope, that a sermon so able, sound, judicious, and discriminating, and, we are sorry to add, so *timely*, may have an extensive circulation; for it can hardly be read without interest and profit.

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A Letter to the American Peace Society, from a Member of the Committee of Peace in Paris. Paris. 1842. 8vo. pp. 31.

The writer of this Letter is George M. Gibbes, Esq. of Charleston, S. C., resident in Paris for twelve years past. His object is to recommend to the patronage and employment of the Peace Society an "*International Daily Journal,*" which it is proposed to establish in that city. The proposal is one of large and philanthropic interest, and deserves to be universally known, that it may receive the countenance which it deserves. Mr. Gibbes has evidently given the subject a good deal of attention, and, as far as can be judged from this document, has the promise of effectual aid. The Journal is to be always under the control of three directors, natives of the different nations, [England, France, and America,] whose interests it is intended more particularly to represent; by which arrangement it is hoped to secure it from narrow and party biases, and to render it the organ of the most enlarged, generous, high-principled views in politics, morals, and philanthropy. The connexion of these three nations for the preservation of harmony with one another and with the world, and for the more rapid and secure intercommunication for the promotion of knowledge, civilization, and happiness, seems to be the prominent object. "Guarantees are to be provided against its perversion to ignoble purposes; its impartiality in the discussion of international disputes is to be secured; and the promulgation of truth made, not only an interest, but a necessary condition of its existence." A noble design; if faithfully carried into execution, it promises to be one of the noblest of the age, and well deserving the countenance not only of the Peace Society, but of all who sigh for the progress of mankind. We would do our best to disseminate knowledge of the project, that a fair experiment may be made, if possible, and that at least it may not be destroyed at the birth for want of a sufficient general attention being drawn toward it.

The proposal is, to establish a "Daily Journal in the French Language, at Paris, under the auspices of his Excellency Henry Wheaton and Dr. John Bowring; for the purposes:—

"1. Of promoting peace, and international philanthropy. 2. Of fostering and strengthening the alliance between England and France; and, as connected therewith, the amicable relations of both countries with the United States of America. 3. Of advancing the interests of England and America upon the continent of Europe; and those of France generally.

"An organ in the capital of continental Europe for representing the interests of England and America, and for facilitating the communication of the people of both countries, with those of France in particular,

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is a desideratum to which sufficient importance has not been attached. * * * The establishment of an independent journal, representing the combined interests of the three great constitutional nations of the western world, who, by their united maritime force, unbounded pecuniary resources, and moral energy, are capable at any time of dictating pacific laws to the universe, must be considered by every enlightened mind, as one of the noblest enterprises of modern intelligence; calculated at once to preserve peace, award justice, circulate knowledge, and advance prosperity. * * *

"Projected upon a larger scale than any paper now existing in Paris, and organized under the direction of individuals, already distinguished for their disinterested benevolence, and enlightened views, as expressed in their respective writings upon international law, liberal institutions, and commercial policy, the great cause of civilization must be signally promoted by its extensive circulation. It is not too much, indeed, to anticipate, that the benignant principles, intended to be propagated through its medium, may lead to the formation of leagues for the exercise of brotherly affections between nations, such as are now found inoperative. The application of the true principles of international law, the abolition of the African slave trade, and of piracy, with the extinction of maritime war itself, are dependent mainly upon the active concert of the three powers in question."

From a letter of Mr. Wheaton we obtain his views on the subject, which must always have weight, and we quote a few expressions.

"I have long regretted that we have no regular channel through which the misrepresentations and misunderstandings, as to our manners, customs, pecuniary credit, and the practical working of our institutions, could be refuted on the continent of Europe. It appears to me that this important object could be best effected by a journal published in the widely diffused language of France, at Paris, a city which may be regarded as in some degree the capital of continental Europe. Such a journal might, at the same time, be made to promote the more comprehensive aim of uniting together the efforts of the three great western nations, who, by their freedom, intelligence, and commercial activity, may be considered as the pioneers of civilization in the Christian world. America, France, and England have doubtless interests, in some respects diverse and conflicting; their political institutions are not precisely the same; and a conflict between them is one of those contingencies, to the possibility of which a practical statesman is not at liberty to shut his eyes. At the same time, it is the duty of the statesman and the philanthropist to use every possible means of averting such a calamity, which, in the present state of public credit, the widely extended relations of commerce, the vast expenditure occasioned by military operations in the present improved state of military science, involving the necessity of contracting new debts, or of crushing the people with taxation, would render such a calamity as war between France and England, or between England and America, immeasurably greater than any which history records.

"One of the principal aims of such a journal ought therefore to be,

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to plead the cause of peace, by appealing to such practical motives as influence the conduct of states and of individuals.

"One of the most distinguished statesmen and moralists in France having consented to coöperate with Messrs. Wheaton and Bowring in the direction of the Journal, whenever the necessary funds shall have been subscribed, its control will be beyond the reach of either national or local influence.

"The amount to be subscribed, in shares of 1,000 francs each, is 600,000 francs, which will be distributed in as equal proportions as may be in the three countries. The subscriptions not to be called for, until the whole amount is engaged. As regards the profits likely to accrue from a journal, such as that contemplated, it may be sufficient to state, that one of the leading newspapers in Paris is estimated to derive a nett annual revenue very nearly equal to its original cost, and is now valued at from six to seven millions of francs; and that the shares of another, which were subscribed for at one thousand francs each, have since been sold for upwards of two hundred thousand francs, and are now valued at one hundred and sixty thousand francs each. Neither of the above journals have more than eight thousand subscribers who receive the paper, and their circulation out of Francc is inconsiderable; whereas it may be calculated, that an organ, of the character now projected, will be received generally, wherever the French language is understood.

"None of the parties engaged in establishing this journal have, or can have, any pecuniary interest in its success; and their services, and the expenses incurred in promoting it, are entirely gratuitous."

We have spread before our readers all that is essential to their perceiving the purpose and promise of the great project before them. Whatever may be the actual result, it is an encouraging sign of the improvement of the world, that politicians and philanthropists are beginning to unite in large and disinterested exertion for the good of nations and the growth of the world. We refer to the letter of Mr. Gibbes for some important statements respecting the character and power of the Press in France, which at once show the demand for a movement like this, and so much to encourage the attempt to meet it.

The Neighbors; a Story of Every-day Life: by Fredericka Bremer. Translated from the Swedish, by Mary Howitt. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1843. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 259, 223.

The "Neighbors," is already widely known, and by all who have read it, admired. It is certainly a highly original work, and deeply interesting, and for its moral and religious tone worthy of all commendation. But we notice the work at this late hour not for purposes of criticism, but simply to publish and recom-

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mend the very neat edition of it, in two duodecimo volumes by James Munroe & Co. Those who half-destroyed their eyes by reading the wretched reprints which came from the newspaper presses in the form of loose-stitched quarto pamphlets, with a little ink here, and a little ink there, but no where much, will perhaps be glad to read the book over again with more comfort, and in a form which, when read, can be placed upon their shelves, among volumes to be preserved.

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1. *Fourth Report of the Agriculture of Massachusetts. Counties of Franklin and Middlesex.* By HENRY COLMAN, Commissioner of the Agricultural Survey of the State. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, State Printers. 1841. 8vo. pp. 533
2. *The Improvement of Agriculture as an Art and a Profession: an Address at the Annual Cattle Show and Fair of Munroe County Agricultural Society in Rochester, New York, October* 26, 1842, By HENRY COLMAN, President of the Society. Rochester, 1842. pp. 35.

WE cannot pretend in a periodical like ours to take a proper notice of publications, such as those whose titles are given above. It would be difficult among our contributors to find a sufficient knowledge of the subject, and were that discovered, to provide sufficient space for the display of it. We content ourselves, therefore, with a few observations. We first express our surprise at the small number of copies of an important work, like the "Fourth Report," ordered to be printed and distributed, if, that is to say, the number named in an order of Council prefixed to the volume, be the whole supply from every source, for the State of Massachusetts, not to speak of other parts of the country, which must desire a few copies at least. A great part of the benefit to be derived from the survey one would expect to proceed from a knowledge of what has been done on the part of the Commissioner, being communicated to the farmers at large. Yet here is an edition of but three thousand volumes for a population of seven hundred thousand souls! We cannot understand why, having been at the expense of the survey, the results of it are locked up from the people. We cannot well conceive of more interesting, or more useful volumes for the farmer's library and fireside, than these Reports of Mr. Colman, especially this last. They are overflowing with information on the subjects coming more especially under his care, and abound in hints and counsel on matters of taste, manners, and morals, which come in as an agreeable variety in the midst of matters purely agricultural, and cannot be read with-

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out pleasure and advantage. If every town were supplied with a single copy, which is as much as the present edition would allow, it would make but a wretched approximation to what ought to be done. Every farmer should possess a copy, not through any gratuitous distribution, but through the opportunity to purchase, offered by large and cheap editions. In its present form the Fourth Report is a large and unwieldy volume, and, if sold at only a moderate profit to any publisher, expensive. We presume that all the four reports might be issued in two volumes for considerably less than the cost of this last report alone.

In our notice of another publication of the Commissioner more than a year since, we expressed a wish, that when the survey of Massachusetts should be completed, the same gentleman might visit other States of the Union, and report to his fellow-citizens their methods of cultivation, in the belief that it would be of more advantage to our community to be instructed in the practices of strangers, distinguished for their success in the arts of husbandry than, as in the reports of our Commissioner, in their own. Such reports, we think, would have been of great service. A still greater service, however, to the interests of agriculture, we are led to believe, will result from the European tour which Mr. Colman now proposes to undertake, the express object of which is to visit the districts most remarkable for their successful cultivation in England, France, Germany, &c. and, from time to time, to publish reports of his observations, similar to those already issued on the agriculture of Massachusetts. We give Mr. Colman's plan in his own words, as we find it at the close of his Rochester Address.

"Several gentlemen, interested in the advancement of Agricultural science and improvement and of Rural education, have proposed to Mr. Henry Colman, late Commissioner of the Agricultural Survey of Massachusetts, to visit Europe for these objects. The plan is for him to spend a year in England in the examination of the Husbandry and Rural Economy of that country, and a year on the Continent in the examination of French, Flemish, Swiss, and German Husbandry, and especially the Agricultural or Manual Labor Schools and the Experimental Farms.

"It is thought that such an examination, as yet never undertaken by an American, might, if well conducted, essentially conduce to the advancement of agricultural knowledge and improvement in this country; and especially serve the cause of rural and practical education, which is now exciting great interest throughout the United States. The general plan of the Survey will conform to Mr. Colman's Survey of the Agriculture of Massachusetts.

"It is proposed to publish his reports in successive numbers. The first number is expected to appear by the first of January, 1844, and

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sooner if practicable. The rest of the numbers will follow in convenient succession at intervals of two or three months.

"The whole work will be comprised in eight, or at most, ten numbers of at least 100 pages each, handsomely printed in octavo form, stitched and covered, and embellished with necessary and useful drawings and engravings, title pages and index.

"The cost will be 50 cents each number to subscribers. Gentlemen who subscribe are understood as subscribing for the whole work.

"As the enterprise involves of necessity, a large expense, it is expected that one dollar per copy will be paid on subscribing; or otherwise one dollar on the delivery of the first number; one on the delivery of the second number; one on the delivery of the fifth number; one on the delivery of the seventh number; and one on the delivery of the ninth number, should the work be extended to ten numbers."

Hints on Modern Evangelism, and the Elements of a Church's Prosperity: a Discourse delivered in the Charles Street Baptist Church, [Boston] October 9, 1842. By DANIEL SHARP. Published by request. 8vo. pp. 24.

IF it were not for seeming to interfere with the matters that concern other denominations, and of which they should be left to judge and determine according to their own conscience and wisdom, we should be disposed to go somewhat at large into the very important topic upon which the preacher speaks in the beginning of this Discourse—Modern Evangelism — a fruitful and most momentous question. Dr. Sharp states strong views in objection to the system, in clear, manly, decisive language. They are such as do credit to his well earned reputation for candid and sober-minded devotedness to the most substantial interests of religion. His views of the Elements of a Church's Prosperity, which occupy the larger portion of the sermon, are such as might profitably be addressed to any church in Christendom.

The Sleepwaker; A Tale from the German of HEINRICH TSCHOKKE. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1842. 18mo. pp. 224.

THIS is a quite interesting love story, founded on the phenomena of the sleep-waking, or mesmeric state. Believers and unbelievers in the reported wonders of the new science will be alike pleased with this little tale, and acknowledge the ingenuity with which the *matériel* furnished by Animal Magnetism has been converted to the purposes of fiction. Those who are fond of metaphysics too, or of groping in regions of speculation, where

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there is no excess of light, will be pleased with the discourses of the beautiful Hortensia, who attempts, in her sleep-waking state, the solution of diverse psychological problems. The translation — by a lady — is made into pure unaffected English, and we cannot doubt is faithful to the original.

A Sermon before his Excellency John Davis, Governor, &c., at the Annual Election, on Saturday, January 7, 1843. By Samuel C. Jackson, Pastor of the West Church, Andover. 8vo. pp. 55.

An excellent discourse — well designed — well written — sound and judicious in its topics, as should be those which the pulpit addresses to the authorities of the Commonwealth, — respectful to the State, and faithful to the Church. The subject, "Religious Principle a source of Public Prosperity." The text, "Fear God: honor the King."

Extracts from Periodicals, Intelligence, &c.

The Christian Teacher (published in London and Liverpool) for January, contains five articles, the last only — a review of discourses on the death of Dr. Channing — of general interest. It notices and presents liberal extracts from four of our American sermons on that occasion, viz. Mr. Gannett's, Mr. Parker's, Mr. Bellows's, and Mr. Ellis's. "On every account," says the reviewer, "Mr. Gannett's address at the funeral, and discourse on the subsequent Sunday, claim our first notice. He was addressing Dr. Channing's people, and his own relations with him were the most intimate. His services are properly marked by these circumstances, and stand out from all the others in the overflowing expression of love, tender and sacred sorrow, and the deep sense of loss and bereavement. The world has lost a light on which it gazed from afar, but to his own people the altar fire is quenched, and accordingly these addresses of the remaining Pastor to the afflicted Church are as the domestic agony and throb to the general lamentation." Mr. Parker's is termed a very "striking discourse." "In the admirable Discourse delivered at New York by Mr. Bellows," the reviewer remarks, "evincing a true understanding of Dr. Channing's mind, and a true sympathy with his spirit (there is no higher praise), we find a sentiment which was the first that came over ourselves when told of his death, though we are not sure we should have

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had the courage to express it. 'But he is dead! and we feel at first as if the world were only half as well worth living in — since our nature has lost its best defender and illustration; our cause its chief strength and ornament; humanity its most courageous, enlightened, and skilful champion. We look around in vain for the shoulders on which his mantle may descend.' Yet the influences and ministry from God, in Nature and Providence, under which he formed his spirit, and sustained his unworldly life, remain to us as to him. The world is as sacred as before, as true a nursery for noble natures.'" "Mr. Ellis's Discourse, which, views Dr. Channing as a Christian Philanthropist and Divine, is a very able and interesting production. There is a notice of the kind of influence which he possessed, which echoes what we have already quoted on this subject, and shows the universal agreement among his brethren as to this highest evidence of Power and Love." The Review itself presents quite an able and discriminating view of Dr. Channing's character and writings. The following paragraphs present the principal criticism of the article.

"We would venture to say a few words on the distinguishing character of his mind, and this, we think, lay in what, perhaps, cannot be described in any other way than by calling it '*spiritual discernment.*' It was not by slow inductions that he reached his perception of moral Truths, nor by an elaborate chain of mediate proofs that he communicated them to others. He spoke as a Prophet, — as from immediate vision, — as one who had come from the oracle of his spirit, where he had listened to the everlasting Voice. All true Light he regarded as proceeding from the higher sentiments of the soul, receiving and manifesting God's spirit. To keep his own nature pure, reverential, loving, unstained by the passions, unsullied by appetite and sense, so that God might find it ready for his impulses, and be able to breathe his Holy Spirit through it, — this he regarded as the highest and surest preparation for the reception of Spiritual Truth; and the sense, proceeding to him from such states, of the goodness of God; of the destination and true happiness of man; of an all-embracing love as the only principle of a beneficent connexion with one another or with the universe; of the blessedness of obeying conscience; of the sure triumph and eternal vindication of Righteousness and Mercy, — was not, to him, a mere human or fallible impression, but the solemn affirmation of Almighty God. Religion, and the practical spirit of Christianity, were not to him the products of mere reasoning, but a light struck out by the direct action of God on all the purer states of the human soul. The sentiments of a mind that had striven to purge itself from selfishness and passion, to obey the Laws, and rise to the dignity of its Nature, were to him the ultimate appeal on all subjects of moral and religious truth; divine seeds planted by God in man, to be ripened by unwavering fidelity into the powers and fruits of a heavenly life. 'Faith,' to use his own words, he regarded, 'not as an intellectual exercise, an assent to propositions, but as a spiritual aspiration, a

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thirst for perfection, a trust in Christianity as commissioned by God to give us perfection, to inward, moral, celestial, and eternal life.' Now it is this character of mind that displays genius of the highest order, and from which his wonderful power of attraction was derived. He never discusses a question on debateable ground, but at once pours on it a flood of light, by an exposition of the everlasting principles with which it must be brought into harmony. Argument, in the common sense of that word, was not his instrument, no logical power his characteristic, nor in his writings is there to be found much of consecutive thought, — perhaps not a single subject systematically treated, and according to the laws of a philosophical arrangement. It was not that he was deficient in such powers, for his mind was eminently clear, but they were not his highest instruments; he had diviner, brighter, fuller evidences; he rose more freely into the light of those spiritual faculties, sentiments, and aspirations, in whose precepts and revealings there is felt to be no uncertainty. His writings, beyond all others in the language, are marked by a moral inspiration, — he fans the soul of his reader, and elevates it to pure vision, sentiment, and insight. When you close his pages, you may not feel that all the materials of a subject have been placed within your reach, or that you have been made capable of systematically developing it for yourself; — but you feel that *your spiritual nature has been brought into right relations* towards it, that the great principles, the holy and merciful sentiments which ought to determine it, have received from him a new glow of life. His power lies in making you *feel* rightly towards God and man; and few are the questions, in Theology or Social Morality, that require anything more for their settlement than the heart being brought into this right spiritual frame.

"His style partakes of this character of his mind. He presents you with a series of moral intuitions, which are found to exhaust the essence of the subject. Yet the single features are rather taken up numerically, than in any organic connexion. There is no necessary sequence in the order of his topics. His mind emits Light rather than developed thought, and flashes out its intense revelations, often in the fewest possible words, — though his unexhausted interest in a great subject frequently leads him to repeat himself, but never without renewing in his reader the glow of kindred sentiment. He never repeats but to rekindle. His style is a true image of his mind; the spiritual outshines the philosophical faculty; but still the philosophic element is never absent. You are never in any doubt as to the soundness of his views, — however intense may be the light of his sentiments, you always feel that the truths, which are the basis of this interest, are as living Rock." — pp. 106, 107.

The Reformer for January notices the same American discourses, and makes the following comparative judgment on the sermons of the two countries. "The English publications on this subject are fewer, we believe, than the American. A comparison of the respective productions of the two countries will not, in our judgment, feed our national vanity. Taken as a whole, there is more talent displayed in the American sermons,

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and, with some exceptions, we fear, a stronger and purer *English* style. The divines of both countries may, it is clear, take some useful lessons from each other."

The London Eclectic Review, (the organ of orthodox dissenters,) for February, contains a review of the life of Dr. Carpenter, by his son, in its usual Christian and liberal spirit. After praising the manner in which the book has been prepared, the reviewer says, "We do not affect indifference to the point in relation to which the denomination to which he belonged differed from what, in our view, is apostolical Christianity. The reality and magnitude of that point, as entering into the very vitalities of Christian truth and human godliness, this review has ever maintained, though by speaking the truth in love, it has sometimes excited the suspicions of some who cannot think a man in earnest unless he is in a rage, nor give him credit for loving the truth unless he hate heretics. Nevertheless we do rejoice, and express our joy, that while the public and polemical labors of Dr. Carpenter are likely to be the subjects of extensive notice and investigation from his fellow men, they are now enabled to take a nearer and better view of him in other and more interesting and amiable capacities, fulfilling his private and individual course, and discharging the functions of home and friendship. Such a life as his deservedto be written, such a character demanded exhibition, and it is pity that his theological repute and ecclesiastical position should prevent, as they will do, multitudes from reading the one and beholding the other who might greatly profit by both."

This is said in the finest spirit, — equally so is what follows. But this is not the first time the Eclectic has given Magee his due.

"As a polemic [Dr. Carpenter's] productions were far more numerous than the natural character of his mind would lead us to expect. Though differing from him on most momentous subjects, on which he wrote as a controversialist, we accept the testimony of his son, that he was more anxious to promote a love of truth, than his own particular opinions. He was certainly free from many of the things, that but too frequently disgrace and disfigure theological combatants. In patient perseverance, clear thought, and honesty and mildness, there are but few superior to him. His style was generally more or less loose and awkward — a circumstance rather remarkable, when his constant habit of writing sermons, and his great practice as an author are recollected. His principal controversial work was his reply to Magee. The learned Bishop's book on the atonement, containing

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an immense amount of valuable matter, was in some respects one work of the most singular, and in others one of the most sorrowful works ever published. As a defence of the atonement, the learning and mental vigor of its author make it worthy of a high place in the theological literature of our country, a place which it has obtained and is likely to keep; but its worth is greatly diminished, by its ill arrangement, and especially by its exhibition of a most evil spirit, and all the petty and dishonest arts of controversy. We never met with a work (gladly would we if possible use another language) containing more opprobrious invectives and disgraceful misrepresentations. * * * * He was hurried on to the employment of methods which nothing can justify or excuse. Dr. Carpenter's temper and spirit are a striking contrast to those of his antagonist, forming but one of too many instances in which the heretic has had the advantage of the orthodox."

The reviewer goes on to give Dr. Carpenter credit for "strong religious tendencies and a remarkable devotional temper," but expresses his "deep and solemn conviction that Dr. Carpenter was a contrast to, rather than a representative of his fellow Unitarians in thse respects."

The Princeton Review for January furnishes eight articles, and twenty-nine critical notices. The principal articles are upon "Education," "Instruction of Negro Slaves," "Edwards's Works," "The evils of an unsanctified Literature," "The familiar Study of the Bible," "Church Music." In the article on Edwards's Works a parallel is run between the two Edwardses, father and son, which we quote.

"As it is common to compare him with his father, we have no hesitation in declaring him to be, in all essential respects, decidedly his father's inferior. Dr. Emmons in one of those mystic responses, which are so much revered by his admirers, said that 'the father had more *reason* than the son; but the son was a better *reasoner* than his father.' This, like many of his oracular sayings, was more smart than true. As the father's mind was confessedly more prolific and brilliant; as it swept a wider compass and embosomed greater resources; as it was more profound and far-sighted, as it illuminated a greater variety of subjects, and was surer to avoid all deflections from the true orbit of evangelical doctrne; so he was the more powerful reasoner. and formidable antagonist in a controversy. If the son was seemingly more nimble and dexterous in some of his logical movements and evolutions; the father was the more sure-footed, ponderous, and irresistible in his onset upon his foes. If the father sometimes seems more languid and faltering in movements, it is only because he descries some snare or pitfall, by his masterly insight into all the aspects of the case, which it requires great caution and circumspection to shun. If it be granted that with prem-

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ises equally good, the son would outstrip the father in reaching the conclusion, it must also be granted, that the father, by reason of his deeper insight, was more sure of having his premises unquestionable, and therfore his conclusions were more impregnable. And as securing the premise is the most material part of good reasoning, the father was the greater reasoner. A still greater superiority appears in all the father's sermons, and writings on practical godliness, above those of the son. They are far more rich, scriptural, tender, moving, instructive, and nutritious; they have far more unction and spirituality; they are less metaphysical, frigid and jejune. The father resorted to metaphysics, because he was driven to them for the refutation of error; and when he could avoid them, preferred the style and teachings of scripture, to the method of the schools. The son resorted to metaphysics, because he loved them, and his mind inclined to cast all subjects in their mould. Such is our view of the relative rank and attributes of these remarkable men."

From the London Atheneum we learn that the Antiquities secured by Mr. Fellows, while in Asia Minor, have safely arrived in London.

"The marbles discovered at Xanthus in Lycia, by Mr. Fellows, have at length reached the British Museum in safety, though from want of a room wherein to place them, they must probably remain for some time unseen by the public. From a hasty glance during the process of unpacking, we have no hesitation in pronouncing them a valuable acquisition to our national collection of art; compensating in some degree for our loss of the Ægina marbles, with which many of the Lycian Sculptures correspond in style, though of an earlier age. A large portion also possess great merit as works of art, though of course far inferior to the Elgin marbles. They include probably some of the earliest efforts of Greek art, which have come down to our time. Foremost in the collection, in point of antiquity, stands the Tomb bearing the reliefs of the Harpies carrying off the daughter of Pandarus, figured in Mr. Fellows's work on Lycia, and probably older than the time of Cyrus. Independently of the mythological interest of the subject represented on it, it is important as an example of the Arabic style of art, which as in Italy is called Pelasgic; the drapery lying in plaits rather than folds, clinging to the body like wet cloths. The eyes have a vacant stare, the faces are without expression, and the hair is like rolls of maccaroni. There is a Persian character about the arrangement of the hair, the pointed beards, and the accessories, which gives a value to the monument in relation to the history and origin of art. We venture to foretel that it will furnish subject-matter for most of the learned societies of Europe, in the discussion of its art and mythology. Beside this there are six or eight friezes, or fragments of friezes in relief, consisting of a great variety of subjects illustrating ancient

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manners, dresses, &c. One represents the siege of a walled town, which is delineated with its towers and battlements thronged with soldiery, who are issuing out on a sortie armed with stones to attack an enemy, while in the background appear the watching wives and daughters of the citizens. On another part the walls are being scaled by the enemies, who are mounting the ladders protected by their broad shields. The combatants in this and other instances are represented with great vigor. A hunting scene occupies another frieze, the game being the lion. Then comes a bas-relief of combats, in one section of which, singularly well preserved, the marble being pure white, a wounded warrior is portrayed with great truth and expression leaning on the arm of a female, who bears him off the field. A procession of prisoners with their arms tied behind their backs, resembling in costume and character of the countenance some of those on the Persepolitan sculptures, are led in another frieze before a king, or chief, seated under an umbrella. A long line of figures, carrying offerings of game, poultry, &c. to an altar, where the priest is performing sacrifice, forms a subject by itself; and then fragments of a large frieze of equestrian combats. The riders sit on their horses in a different style from those of the Parthenon, with their heels down, and legs well forward, and some knowledge of horsemanship, of which the equestrians of Phidias seem to have been ignorant. Besides all these, there are several single statues, headless, and mutilated, but distinguished by fine parts, and by an easy flow of complicated drapery. In many instances the colors, with which the backgrounds—perhaps also the figures in the bas-relief—were covered, still remain in the angles and grooves formed by the outline, throwing light on the question of polychromatic decoration. These traces will doubtless soon disappear in a moist climate. Portions of the metal clamps remain; in one instance the leaden reins of a charioteer were found by Mr. Fellows, still adhering to his grasp and attached to the horse's bit. The chariot, it may be remarked, is drawn by the collar, and not by the yoke, as was the practice of the Greeks, a distinction which, together with the tufts, and top-knots on the horses' heads, has a Persian air about it.

"No European museum has received so important and remarkable an addition for many years, as the "Fellows Marbles," for we trust that name will be applied to them, — as those of the Parthenon are styled the Elgin,— as the proper testimony to the zeal, enterprise, and self-sacrifice exhibited by the gentleman, who first called the attention of the government to them, and with no prospect of reward, beyond the gratitude of all

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lovers of the arts, volunteered a third journey into Asia Minor, solely for the purpose of superintending their removal."

Roman Antiquities. The *Progressif Cauchois* announces, that the Abbé Cochet has just had some excavations made in the Loges wood, near Chateau Gaillard, a place celebrated in the ancient legends and traditions of the country, and has discovered a Roman dwelling, apparently belonging to a family in the middle ranks of life. This circumstance adds to the value of the discovery, as hitherto only villas of the wealthy have been known to the learned. This habitation is composed of four compartments, three of which are sitting-rooms. The first — the hypocaust or stove-room, is in an excellent state of preservation, and shows clearly the manner of heating employed by the Romans in their northern provinces. About a score of brick pillars are still standing, generally about four fifths of a yard in height. On these pillars the flooring was placed, composed of flat freestone flags, and a considerable portion of it still remains. The walls, which are formed of roughly cut stones, are in some places nine feet high. They are covered over with a thick layer of cement, perforated in a number of places, to allow the hot air to pass into the room from channels, which run round in various directions from the stove. The ceiling is ornamented with fruits and flowers roughly painted on rough mortar. The second room is also flagged with freestone, and has in one corner a pipe to let off the water. This pipe was found stopped with a large cork, when the discovery was made. The third room was unpaved, and in it M. Cochet found fifteen bronze medals of the time of Trajan, Faustinus, and Antoninus. — The *Memoriel des Pyrenees* also gives an account of some excavations lately made at Bielle. A fine piece of Mosaic having been discovered by a peasant, while digging his land, further researches were made, and an entire house was laid bare, the walls still standing to a height of three feet. This residence also consists of four chambers, but with the addition of a circular piece, which was at first thought to be a bath room, from the fact of two large pipes of water being made to communicate with it. On removing the floor, however, a tomb of white polished marble was discovered below, containing a skeleton in good preservation. The floors of the chambers were paved with handsome mosaics. Some pieces of pottery, burnt earth, and two columns about nine feet high, one of white, the other of colored marble, have been found, as well as a finely sculptured capital. Excavations and discoveries have also been lately made near Salle, on the road to Limoges, among which may be mentioned a stone mill, for grinding

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corn, a small figure in copper of an armed warrior, and some medals, one of which represents a chained crocodile; and a gold medal has been found at Bruneval, of the size of an English half-crown, and the weight of a sovereign, which refers to an interesting epoch in English history, having been struck to commemorate the descent of Edward of York into Great Britain, at the time of the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. — *Athenæum.*

Scandinavian Antiquities. A letter from Copenhagen states that a peasant of Bœsland in the island of Zealand, whilst ploughing, discovered two gold urns filled with ashes, chased with foliage and fruit, and bearing on the top of the cover, a figure of Odin, the Jupiter of the Scandinavians. This figure is represented as standing, bearing on one shoulder the two crows, Hunin (thought) and Munin (memory), and at its feet two wolves, symbols of its power. The urns are exactly alike in preservation, and admirably wrought. The gold is exceedingly thin, except at the edges. They are about six inches in diameter, including the cover, but not the figure, and their weight is a little more than two pounds. They have been deposited in the Museum of Copenhagen. They are supposed to belong to the fifth century. — *Athenæum.*

The Spanish Character. "To the honor of Spain be it spoken, it is one of the few countries in Europe, where poverty is never insulted nor looked upon with contempt. Even at an inn, the poor man is never spurned from the door; and if not harbored, is at least dismissed with fair words, and consigned to the mercies of God and his Mother. This is as it should be. I laugh at the bigotry and prejudices of Spain; I abhor the cruelty and ferocity which have cast a stain of eternal infamy on her history; but I will say for the Spaniards, that in their social intercourse no people in the world exhibit a juster feeling of what is due to the dignity of human nature; or better understand the behavior which it behoves a man to adopt towards his fellow beings. I have said that it is one of the few countries of Europe, where poverty is not treated with contempt, and, I may add, where the wealthy are not blindly idolized. In Spain the very beggar does not feel himself a degraded being, for he kisses no one's feet, and knows not what it is to be cuffed and spitten upon; and in Spain the Duke or Marquis can scarcely entertain a very overbearing opinion of his own importance, as he finds no one, with perhaps the exception of his French Valet, to fawn upon, or flatter him." — ***Borrow's Bible in Spain.***

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

MAY, 1843.

THE PHILANTHROPIC ELEMENT IN LITERATURE.

In what we now term the infancy of literature, Solomon said, "Of making many books there is no end." But of the books, which he found extant, there probably remain in being only the Pentateuch, the Book of Job, and a few of the poems of his own royal father. What a vast freight of promised immortality have these three thousand years carried away as a dream! Of the lost books, which Solomon may have read, the Pentateuch preserves the name of one, with a short extract. It is the "Book of the wars of Jehovah," that is, of great, famous wars, — a poetical work, probably the Iliad of its day, commemorative of heroic darings and achievements, the bard's tribute to men of might and renown, whose world-honored names, he trusted, would bear his own down to the end of time. Why has his book perished? Why is his name, why are the names of his heroes dropped from the memory of man? Probably because the book was a mere war-poem, — an eulogy of deeds that had made men wretched, — of deeds, the praise of which was cherished among the posterity of their heroes, or until the tribe which had achieved them was disbanded, but which had no hold upon the general heart, nothing to call forth the sympathy, or to enlist the affections. Why have the writings of Moses and of David, why has the Book of Job survived, and gone forth into all lands, and been translated into every tongue? Because there was that in them, which appealed to the universal heart, and which found an answering chord in every breast. They addressed man as man, and in tones of love and of sympathy. They revealed the common parentage,

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both earthly and heavenly, of all men. They breathed compassion for the poor, kindness for the exile and the stranger. They opened the bosom of eternal love for the repose of the weary, for the refuge of the oppressed. They spake of the unslumbering Shepherd. They drew around the tried and stricken children of earth the mantle of a watchful Providence. They encompassed men's dwellings and daily walks with the hosts of God and the sympathy of heaven. Therefore was it, that, long before literature was wont to pass from nation to nation, and from tongue to tongue, these books were translated and circulated among nations, whose theology differed the most widely from that of the Jews. The philanthropic aim and tendency of these writings preserved and diffused them.

In the present article, we ask the attention of our readers to the philanthropic element, considered as the life-giving and life-preserving principle of literature, as that, without which taste, genius, and eloquence can leave no extensive or enduring impress. By the philanthropic element we mean sympathy with man as man, — a spirit, which surmounts natural barriers, which forgets factitious differences, which regards our common nature as essentially sacred and venerable, and which utters itself with tenderness and love, — in fine, a spirit, which brings the reader, whoever he may be, into face to face communion with the author, and which makes the process of perusal a blending of heart with heart. The motto of the writer, who would give his book free course and length of days, must be, *Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto.*

But our theory encounters at the outset a formidable objection in the ancient classics taken collectively. They have little or none of this philanthropic element. They recognise not the intrinsic dignity and worth of the human soul. They are contracted and exclusive in their sympathies. Hatred, contempt, or revenge often gives them their key-note. Even Socrates (in Plato's Dialogues) speaks scornfully of those, who, in humble life, practise the quiet virtues that adorn their station, denies that they can partake or approach the divine nature, and promises them no more worthy fate after death, than transmigration into the bodies of ants, wasps, and bees. Yet those old Greek and Roman writers have survived the nations and languages of their birth, — they enter into all liberal culture, — they nourish youth, — they are the delight of age, and the wreath of their renown is as fresh and green as

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when it was first woven. How is it that they still live, if philanthropy is the breath of life to literature?

We reply, that the history of the classics is not even an exception to the principle which we have laid down; but, on the other hand, strikingly illustrates and confirms it. For, in the first place, how exceedingly small a proportion, (probably much less than a thousandth part,) of ancient classical literature has come down to us! What a multitude of philosophers and of poets, renowned in their day, have transmitted only as much knowledge of themselves, as may be compressed within five lines of a classical dictionary! The Alexandrian Library contained *seven hundred thousand* volumes, most of them, undoubtedly, single copies of works, which had ceased to be read or known, which, even if works of genius, never had any permanent hold upon the interest or sympathy of mankind, and to which, already dead, the fanatical Christians who burned the library only added the honors of a funeral pile; for, even before the art of printing, the conflagration of a single library, or of a score of libraries, could not have destroyed a *living* literature.

The strongest proof, that classical literature had no intrinsic vitality, may be drawn from the history of the civilized world in the interval between the dismemberment of the Roman Empire and the revival of letters. For the citizens of the empire transmitted to their rude conquerors from the North, not the literature which was indigenous among themselves, but a provincial literature, full of foreign idioms, which they had borrowed from despised Judæa. This was not because the conquered people were religious devotees. Primitive piety then burned low in the church, and the senseless glitter of mere form had hidden the power of godliness. The Scriptures were but partially diffused, imperfectly understood, and superficially obeyed. Their direct influence upon individual character was hardly perceptible. But yet, by their catholic, humane, philanthropic spirit, they had so inwrought themselves into the body politic, and so leavened the whole mass of society, as to sustain the fiercest shock of revolution, nay, the entire disintegration of the social system, and to mingle anew with its chaotic elements, as they were fused into other forms, and a life more hardy, though less refined. Now, as it was barely the social and intellectual influence of the Scriptures, which thus survived the rush of desolating hordes, and subdued the con-

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querors, had classical literature taken any strong hold upon the general mind and heart, there is no conceivable reason why that also should not have penetrated the new organization of the social elements, and impressed its traces deep and clear upon the history and monuments of the dark ages. But we discern no such traces. The age immediately preceding that of the barbarian inroads had lost all purity of taste and beauty of literary execution, — the time-hallowed imagery of the classics had become time-worn and obsolete, — the forms of the Augustan age had been racked and warped, its idioms diluted, its graphic terseness of diction beaten out into a verbose and lumbering dialect, an attenuated, enervated Latin, which Cicero would hardly have recognised as his native tongue. Classical literature had lost its power over those of its own household; and, when aliens overran its home, liberty of concealment, undisturbed oblivion was the highest boon which it could obtain, and that only for a few of its master-spirits. There was no transfusion of its harmonious breathings into a new literature, or into the life-blood of the nations that entered upon its heritage. No strains from Mantua or Tibur were taught to blend with the hoarse war-cry of Goth and Hun. No Athenian or Roman culture moulded the manners or formed the minds of the invaders. But the writings of the Galilean fishermen worked their way with inconceivable rapidity into the hearts and habits of those fierce idolators, quenching the fires of their often bloody superstitions, infusing a spirit of humanity, cherishing pacific counsels and arts, and mingling even with the savage code of war principles of honor and forbearance. To be sure, the sacred writings themselves were soon hidden from the people, nay, from the very priests, hidden in cloister libraries, and in a tongue which was fast growing obsolete. Yet they inspired and pervaded what little of literature, what little of eloquence there was. Their teachings, though *travestied*, were not utterly obscured in the legends and homilies of those days. Their spirit, though with much base admixture, breathed in all that was courteous and beneficent in the institutions of chivalry, in the respect, before unknown, with which the female character was regarded, in the growth of hospitality, in the establishment of public charities. We call those ages dark; yet the darkness was not that of a starless night, but rather that of a cloudy day. And the clouds were one by one dispersing, — the light was perpetually

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waxing brighter, — the written word was gradually disenthralling itself, and breaking forth in the purer teachings and holier lives of its guardians. The sun at length cast clear, full rays upon the dial-plate of the ages, and the shadow trembled towards the high noon of the Reformation. It was not till then, that the surviving fragments of ancient literature came forth from the hiding places, which religion had furnished them; and they were sought out and called forth by the extension to the departments of taste and mental culture of the same quickening influences, which had led on the Reformation.

But the revival of letters (so called) was an isolated phenomenon, fraught with no far-reaching results, exerting no extensive sway over the destiny of the race. In saying this, we are, indeed, running counter to received theories; but facts are on our side. For classical learning in its revival took its first start, and reached its highest point, in its own soil of Italy; yet there the intellectual impulse was of narrower extent and shorter duration than elsewhere, and was closely followed by an age of literary imbecility and plagiarism, and of political and religious profligacy, which gave place only to the death-shadows of universal ignorance and degradation. The reason of this was, that the Italian mind, when roused from its long lethargy, found in the department, to which it applied itself, nothing to expand and elevate its highest powers, nothing adapted to awaken heart-interest and heart-sympathy, nothing diffusive in its nature, and fitted to become the basis of general culture and progress. But the same mental impulse, in Germany, while it availed itself of the disinterred treasures of classic antiquity, assumed a religious direction, was inspired and urged on by that marvellous literature of Judæa, the fountain of living waters to all ages and nations, was transmitted from province to province, and from land to land, and is still at work throughout Protestant Christendom. In this movement there was vitality and the widest diffusiveness. The books which inspired it, and those which grew from it, were for all people. Luther's Bible found its way into every cottage in Germany. The noble lyrics of the Reformation were heard from the sheep-cot and the farm-yard. The infant literature of Germany, in every department, breathed a spirit, which addressed the universal human heart, which gave it free course, and made it both living and life-giving, — indeed, the same spirit, which prompted that ever memorable rejoinder of

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William Tyndale to the Popish priest: "If God give me life, ere many years the ploughboys shall know more of the Scriptures than you do."

The view, which we have presented of classical literature, derives confirmation from its present condition. It is now nowhere a living literature. Its forms of unrivalled beauty are, indeed, and will be for ages to come, to the curious, refined, and educated taste, objects of intense interest and admiration; but they are like the mummies taken from Egyptian catacombs, full of the traces of consummate art, with no symptom of decay, bearing too the closest semblance to life, but without the breath of life. They were in their native tone and spirit strictly local and national; and can hardly be read with interest or profit, except by those, who can abstract themselves from their own position in time and space, and conjure up around themselves the very atmosphere of classic days and scenes. They, therefore, can never be extensively read. In translations they will be enjoyed by but few, who are incapable of enjoying them in their original languages. Popular translations of them there can never be. Literal versions, like Cowper's Homer, will find no readers. Paraphrases as free, and as full of modernisms as Pope's Homer, may be worn by the hands of many on account of these same modernisms, but will be read with enjoyment by none; for to the scholar they will seem a mere *travestie*, while the common reader will have his interest arrested only by the patches of new cloth sewed upon the old garment.

Meanwhile, there is an outcry in many quarters against classical learning, and that, not only in the highway and the market-place, but in our very seats of learning, among those who administer the chief literary institutions of our country. Nay, in some of them, an unworthy capitulation has been already made with the enemy. Juvenal and the Iliad have been thrown away for the privilege of retaining Horace and Xenophon, and the University, no longer *Alma Mater*, afraid, if faithful, of being left utterly chillness, consents to turn her young half-fledged from her nest. We are far from sympathizing with this state of feeling. We deem no man master of his own tongue, till he has become conversant with those so unlike, and yet both most perfect vehicles of thought and sentiment, the Greek and Latin languages. We regard no man as fit to sit in judgment on the current literature of the day,

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none, (with here and there a rare exception,) as competent to write that which deserves to live, who has not a taste purged and chastened by a familiarity with those faultless models of the art of writing, — the birth of ages, when writing was a rare and generous art, instead of coming, as it now does, by nature, when there were those, who could bear to use the reversed *stylus*, and could suppress a finished work till the *ninth* year, when, (to borrow an Eastern metaphor,) apples of gold found no favor, unless set in pictures of silver. But yet this hostility to the classics, barbarous and unworthy as it is, has more meaning and a broader basis, than even those who wage the warfare know; for there is such a thing as men's not understanding their own ideas, and the enemies of the classics are seldom among those, who are capable of analyzing their own thoughts and sentiments. But they are not all actuated by that bald, narrow, heartless utilitarianism of which they are accused. They are willing that their sons should study much, that has no direct bearing upon the business of life. They will let them study the higher mathematics, which they will never need to use, — various branches of natural science, which lie entirely aside from their future vocations, — modern languages, which they can never need to write or speak. But these good people underrate the classics, because they themselves have received nothing from them. Science they revere as the truth of God. The literatures of modern Europe they respect, because, even in their contracted reading, they have derived more or less of elevating and quickening influence from all of them, and from each some well thumbed version is among the fireside favorites. But no life-giving rays have dawned upon them from classic antiquity. They have, indeed, looked now and then at some translation, but have found it bristling with hard names and exploded superstitions, with sieges and single combats, with no intermingling of such sentiments as are the property of the universal human heart, with no resonance from those world-embracing chords, to which every bosom throbs a quick response. They have not been able to reach the high table-land, from which the surpassing beauties of the classics can be seen in their true perspective. "Words! Words! Words!" is their inward exclamation, when they are urged to spare the good old system of careful, thorough training in the Greek and Latin; and, while they would not restrict education to the knowledge, which will bake men's bread and sail their

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ships, they prefer that, if anything more is to be learned, it shall be in departments, which, in ways that they themselves can trace or comprehend, may either elevate the mind or expand the affections.

In speaking of the classics as deficient in the philanthropic element, in scenes and sentiments adapted to take strong hold upon the affections, we have only represented them as destitute of what, from the necessity of the case, they could not have had. The social and domestic affections must breathe in full vigor in a truly living literature; and, (as we attempted to show in a recent number of this journal,*) these affections owe their intensity and depth for the most part to revealed religion. It is, indeed, hard to find truly pathetic passages in the writings of the ancients. We doubt whether their most moving descriptions ever call forth tears; and, were it not for the venerable mantle of antiquity that screens them from ridicule, their very pathos might sometimes provoke a smile. Take, for instance, the following description from Homer of the grief of Achilles on the death of Patroclus, which would suit much better the rage of a whipped schoolboy, than the sorrow of a bereaved friend.

> "Then clouds of sorrow fell on Peleus' son,
> And, grasping with both hands the ashes, down
> He poured them on his head, his graceful brows
> Dishonoring, and back the sooty shower
> Descending settled on his fragrant vest.
> Then, stretched in ashes, at the vast extent
> Of his whole length he lay, disordering wild
> With his own hands, and rending off his hair.
> The maidens, captived by himself in war
> And by Patroclus, shrieking from the tent
> Ran forth, and hemmed the glorious chief around.
> All smote their bosoms, and all fainting fell.
> On the other side, Antilochus, dissolved
> In tears, held fast Achilles' hand, and groaned
> Continually from his heart, through fear
> Lest Peleus' son should perish self-destroyed." †

This is an outline of mere animal passion, and makes not the remotest approach to the citadel of genuine heart-sorrow. Contrast with this the sublime tranquillity, and at the same

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* November, 1842. † Cowper's Iliad.

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time the rich depth of feeling, the beautiful blending of love and grief with holy trust and the strength that God alone can give, with which a well known modern poetess * has clothed a Christian wife, as she bends over the body of her husband, who dies the victim of an unjust accusation.

"She wiped the death-damps from his brow,
With her pale hands and soft,
Whose touch upon the lute-chords low
Had stilled his heart so oft.
She spread her mantle o'er his breast,
She bathed his lips with dew,
And on his cheeks such kisses pressed
As hope and joy ne'er knew.

"Oh! lovely are ye, Love and Faith,
Enduring to the last!
She had her meed, — one smile in death, —
And his worn spirit passed.
While even as o'er a martyr's grave
She knelt on that sad spot,
And weeping, blessed the God who gave
Strength to forsake it not."

The question may be here raised: If classical literature has so little of the philanthropic element as has been represented, and is thus false to the affections, which constitute the glory of human nature and the charm of life, wherein consists its value? Why should the classics still form an essential branch of liberal culture? In reply, we will briefly state wherein lies, as seems to us, the peculiar and inestimable value of the classics.

1. As works of art the writings of the ancients are unequalled, and will probably forever remain unequalled, certainly can never be surpassed. And this distinction they owe to the very deficiency, which we have been setting forth, — to their lack of the philanthropic element. It was in those early days with the art of writing, as with painting, sculpture, and architecture, all which reached as high a degree of outward finish and polish, as they have attained in modern times, attracted profound admiration, gained eternal fame, but were deficient in those traits, which excite deep emotion and call the finer sensibilities into exercise. The aim of both artists and

* Mrs. Hemans.

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writers in the classic ages was, not to move, but to please, — not to excite feeling, but to gratify taste. This end can be accomplished only by consummate perfectness of form and finish. For, when the heart is not deeply moved, criticism is awake and keen, — every defect, every blemish is detected, — anything short of entire symmetry, wholeness, and unity fails to please. Hence arose the doctrine of the unities of time, place, and scene, as essential to a dramatic or epic poem, particularly to the former. Hence sprang many rigid rules of composition, to which the ancients willingly submitted, because writing was to them a mere trial of skill, a kind of intellectual gymnastics, but which would have been as fetters and handcuffs upon Shakspeare, or Milton, or Wordsworth. The ancients wrote, indeed, with enthusiasm, but not with sensibility. Their enthusiasm was for a purely intellectual ideal, for artistical beauty and perfectness, for rhythmical and melodious words and cadences, for fine-spun thought and burnished metaphor. Modern literature, on the other hand, aims primarily at impression. It appeals to the sentiments and affections, more than to the taste. And, where the heart is awake, criticism becomes dormant; form and finish are mere secondary considerations; faults of taste may glide in unperceived; abrupt transitions, broken metaphors cease to startle; and the most fragmentary forms of literature, if they take their stamp from the mint of the affections, have no less value, than if they had been wrought out and rounded off with the most consummate skill. When the affections give the spring to literature, they produce a revolution among writers, no less than among readers. They push forward many, who have beauty of soul, but no eye for form, — who can utter breathing thoughts, if they may only be permitted to clothe them in the burning words, which presided at their birth. But strong feeling in an author is in itself unfavorable to nice and delicate finish of style. Glowing thoughts grow cool beneath the chisel. Sentiments, which fill the whole soul, cannot be detached, and held at arm's length, and viewed dispassionately, to see where they need paring, and where piecing; but in that very process they grow tame and common-place. The tendency, therefore, of modern literature is to a neglect of art and method, of polish and revision, — a tendency so strong as to need and demand some powerful counteracting influence. This is to be found in familiarity with classical literature, — not in the imitation of the

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classics as models, but in the early, diligent, thorough education, by their means, of the taste, of the artistical sense, of the keen eye for beauty and the quick ear for harmony. The writer thus trained will blend soul and form, strength and grace, nerve and symmetry, — his quick-coming fancies will robe themselves in beauty, — his most rapid flow of thought will be music.

2. There is another ground, on which classical literature is inestimably precious. The classics wrote in a newer, younger world than ours. They were in the process of learning many things now well known. They were taking first glances with earnestness and wonder at many things now old and trite, no less worthy of admiration than they were then, but lost sight of and forgotten. They give us first impressions of nature and of life, which we can get nowhere else. They show us ideas, sentiments, and opinions in the process of formation, exhibit to us their initial elements, reveal their history. They make known to us essential steps in human culture, which in these days of more rapid progress we stride over unmarked. They are thus invaluable aids in the study of the human mind, and of the intellectual history of the race, in the philosophical analysis of ideas and opinions, in ascertaining, apart from our artificial theories, the ultimate, essential facts in every department of nature and of human life. For these uses, the classics will increase in value with the lapse of time, and with every stage of human progress and refinement, so that, though classical literature can never be popular, it must ever be a favorite handmaid of sound philosophy.

We will now turn from classical to sacred literature. The Scriptures, taken collectively, are mainly indebted to the philanthropic element for the interest, which attaches itself to them among all nations and conditions of men. They are, indeed, made quick and powerful in their action upon the moral nature by the same divine spirit, through whose aid they were written. But, when we consider them purely in a literary point of view, we must bring the phenomena of their diffusion and reception under the laws, which govern literature. Now it is an undeniable fact, that, without reference to their religious uses, the Scriptures are read with avidity wherever they are a new book, that they have a peculiar charm for the young, are attractive to the unenlightened, are heard or read with gladness in the far-off islands and settlements, whither

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missionary enterprise has carried them, and at the same time furnish rich and ever new gratification to the most refined and cultivated taste, while they extort the unwilling tribute of intellectual admiration from those, who deny and oppose the religion which they reveal. This universal adaptation of the Bible to the tastes of man, and to such widely various tastes, bearing kindred to each other through a common nature alone, can be accounted for, as we think, only by the fact, that it is full of the spirit of humanity, that it breathes diffusive kindness, love without limit or alloy, that it reconciles man to man, and makes all feel the same fraternal and filial tie, that it addresses those elements and affections, which belong to man's essence, and not to the accidents of his condition. The Mosaic Law has been termed by shallow, short-sighted critics, a hard yoke for a stubborn people. But, in point of fact, it is full of the broadest principles of freedom, humanity, and kindness. Its measure of philanthropy, and of tender thoughtfulness for the rights and wants of all, is beyond that of even the political millennium of modern theorists. The whole Levitical code is pervaded by the most loving spirit for the lowly and distressed. He, who has waxen poor, though he be a stranger or a sojourner, is to be relieved without delay. If he pledge his mantle, it must be restored to him before night-fall. The sun must not go down upon the hireling's unpaid wages; "for he is poor, and setteth his heart upon it." The careful gleaning of the harvest and the second beating of the fruit-tree are forbidden the wealthy owner, and left to the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow. National distinctions are to be merged in the claims of a common nature. "If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him; but thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye know the heart of a stranger; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." How like the cool breath of heaven upon the fevered brow must precepts like these ever fall upon the bruised and oppressed spirit, upon the soul that has been shut out from sympathy, and has bowed under the inequalities, burdens, and mortifications incident to the most free and perfect social state, which, except under an avowed theocracy, man can ever attain! But with how much higher power comes home to the universal heart the fact, foreshadowed in prophecy, portrayed in the New Testament, that God lighted up his only spotless image upon earth amidst the lowliest forms and fortunes of humanity! Here the ex-

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tremes of the spiritual universe are brought together. God takes up his tabernacle among the despised and rejected of men; man, the stricken, way-worn, burden-bearing, is lifted to be the peer of angels and a partaker of the divine nature. And then, in the Scriptures both Old and New, man finds himself encircled as in the arms of a motherly tenderness, is made to feel that a compassionate regard ever rests upon him, sees eyes of God and hears voices of love in every scene of nature and of life. It is this spirit, which carries a welcome for the Bible, and causes its beauty and grandeur to be felt and owned even by those, who have no taste for its humbling doctrines, no will for its self-denying duties.

To pass from the Scriptures to the literature, into which they have breathed the philanthropic element, we would refer to one department of literature, which this element has almost created, namely, that, which has for its office the delineation of natural scenery, — a large and cherished department in modern Christendom, but which, except in the Bible, has left but few and vague vestiges among the remains of ancient literature; for among the classics descriptions of nature are very rare, and, when they do occur, are generally incidental and fragmentary.* Man cannot bear the contemplation of nature, unless the Creator's smile be reflected from it. Reader, did you ever see a little child taken by his father to view some glittering pageant, to the child's eye immensely vast and grand? And have you not marked how such a child will, every moment, look away from the gay show up to his father's face, as if to fortify himself by a glance of love? And does not the child say, in that mute appeal, that he is dazzled and bewildered by the gay show, and could not look upon it with a safe and happy feeling, unless he were supported by his father's eye? Just such emotions we have all had, when we have stood by the ocean or on the mountain-top, when we have considered the heavens, and beheld the stars, as "at the commandment of the Holy One they stand in their order, and faint not upon their watches." We have been amazed and bewildered. We have felt lonely and desolate; and a silent,

* The *pastoral* poetry, many beautiful specimens of which have come down to us from classic antiquity, constitute no exception to this remark; for the Greek and Latin *pastorals* hardly ever present to us the *still life* of nature, but depend for their interest mainly upon the *dramatic* element.

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shuddering awe has come over us. These emotions are the child's yearning for the Father's eye. We cannot bear to find ourselves in a universe so vast, unless we stand in the felt presence of one, who numbers the hairs of our heads and the sands of our lives. The Atheist would carefully cut himself off from every grand and extensive view of nature, would shun the ocean and the mountain, would close his eyes to the crimson sunset and the gemmed vault of night; for all these things would tell him what a lonely being he was and how unsheltered, would speak to him of agencies beyond his control or calculation, of powers of nature far mightier than his boasted intellect. In like manner, could the polytheist have taken no unalloyed satisfaction in the contemplation or description of nature; for to him it was cantoned out among "gods many and lords many," among deities of limited power, of conflicting interests, of brutal passions, among deities, who might sleep or be on a journey, whose presence could not be invoked, or their aid depended upon with any degree of assurance. In a fatherless universe, or in a creation tenanted by vague, uncertain, and divided deity, the social craving is not met. The cry still is,

> "Live not the stars and mountains? Are the waves
> Without a spirit? Are the dropping caves
> Without a feeling in their silent tears?"

It is only, when nature speaks to us in accents of love, when our souls in very truth feel

> "the intense
> Reply of *hers* to our intelligence,"

that her hills and valleys, her stars and waters invite and attract us. It is only this intimate communion with the paternal spirit in nature, which can give either the wish or the power so to portray her scenes, that the portraiture shall live in the memory of man, and pass from land to land and from age to age. All those, who have written sweetly and constrainingly in this department, have occupied the attitude of high-priests and interpreters of Nature as she lies bathed in the Creator's blessing, and have discharged this loving ministry in a loving spirit. It is because Cowper occupies this position, that he lives still, while many of his contemporaries of greater vigor of thought, and finer polish of style, are already consigned to ob-

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livion. It is because Wordsworth exercises the same ministry, that neither ridicule nor reason can deprive him of his power over our sensibilities, or make him otherwise than a favorite with the people.

Of all modern writers, Shakspeare undoubtedly exhibits the most of the philanthropic element. He holds the key to every chamber of the human heart, and to every department of human experience. He touches chords, that vibrate among all classes and conditions of men. So pointedly, and yet in so loving a spirit, does he express many of those ideas and sentiments that are common to all men, that numerous single sentences of his have detached themselves, and worked their way into the mouths of those, who never read a line of Shakspeare. If he ever transgresses truth in his representations, he errs on the side of humanity. His guilty heroes are, it may be, clothed with more noble traits of character, with more that claims sympathy, and the mingling of reverence with detestation, than we often find in the history of actual crime. But then he never palliates guilt. He only makes you love the man in spite of his sin, — makes you admire the temple in its defilement and its ruins. He cannot even mask the humane element long enough to carry a stratagem through. In the feigned death of Juliet, when he arrives at the real sorrow and heart-agony of her parents, he cannot let them go uncomforted, and having no other comforter at hand, he inconsistently enough puts into the lips of the very author of the stratagem, whose words of consolation, if he uttered any, should have been few, slow, and measured, that surpassingly rich flow of soothing and elevating sentiment:

> "Heaven and yourself
> Had part in this fair maid; now heaven hath all,
> And all the better is it for the maid;
> Your part in her you could not keep from death;
> But heaven keeps his part in eternal life.
> The most you sought was — her promotion;
> For 't was your heaven she should be advanced;
> And weep ye now, seeing she is advanced,
> Above the clouds, as high as heaven itself?
> O, in this love, you love your child so ill,
> That you run mad, seeing that she is well."

Of modern authors, who have enjoyed a wide-spread celeb-

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rity, Scott has perhaps the least of the philanthropic element. He has sympathy, but it runs in veins, — love, but it is for man's accidents, not for man himself. He is a worshipper of the conventional. Piety must wear the robe of the establishment, patriotism must be wrapped in a tory's mantle, else he is more likely to hold it up for scorn and contumely, than for respect and reverence. In saying this, we forget not Jeannie Deans; but, in reading her story, we forget Scott, and cannot believe ourselves guided through so lovely an exhibition of pure, simple-hearted Scotch piety, by the same man, who elsewhere never loses an opportunity to make sport of religion in Presbyterian attire, and spares not even the truly apostolic zeal and sanctity of those good old Covenanters, of whom the world was not worthy. We have called Scott a worshipper, we might better have termed him the high-priest, of the conventional. He moulded it into the most life-like forms; but the Promethean spark is wanting. His works have met with no more fame, than his genius merited. His vivid fancy reproducing scenes and groups of olden time, his vast power of combination, his fidelity at once to his plot and to the individuality of every personage, his easy and fluent diction, his general loftiness and purity of moral sentiment, undoubtedly constitute him the most perfect artificer of fiction that the world has ever seen. As such, he has been idolized by the generation just passing off the stage, and by that now upon the stage; but it cannot be denied that his promised immortality has passed its climax. With the rising generation he is supplanted by authors embodying more of that philanthropic element, without which the ascendancy of no man's genius will much outlast his life-time.

Of these new favorites, in a former article,* we spoke at some length of Dickens, then the last favorite, and still our last, though it is hardly possible that his whole year's silence, and then his free and righteous strictures upon American manners, should not have transferred to other brows the laurels given by a changeful public. His men are not indeed made of the fine porcelain earth, of which Scott knows how to shape them. But then they are made, as God made man, out of the dust of the ground; and they are living men, — as men; because they are men, claiming our sympathy and reverence. His stories

* March, 1842.

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are confused in plot, hurried and awkward in the *denouement*, sometimes slovenly, though oftener surpassingly beautiful, in style, sometimes lingering too long amidst coarseness and vulgarity; but, all the while, they breathe a tender sympathy with man as man, in whatever garb, under whatever culture. He is doing more than any other living or recent writer, to open the fountains of kindly feeling, and diffusive world-embracing charity, and to inspire deep compassion, earnest prayer, faithful effort for the toiling, suffering, and neglected of our race. That his works will outlive his own generation we may not presume to say. But they cannot lose their hold upon the general heart, till other writers shall arise, who shall blend his spirit of humanity with more exquisite art and a more highly finished diction.

A word or two in conclusion, with reference to the province and duty of authors. The only worthy object of writing is to convince men of that which is true, or to persuade them to that which is good. The highest aim is to convince of truth, or to persuade to goodness the greatest number. Love is the only lever, which can move the moral universe. The counsel then to the future author should be: Cultivate the true spirit of philanthropy. Cherish every principle and element of our common nature. Form yourself to a close and tender sympathy with the universal heart. When you write, address yourself to that heart. Speak as man to man. Be not satisfied, unless you feel the pulsation of your own heart sent back to you from those, for whom you write. Write not for fame; if you do, you will never get it. Write not for self; for the law of all self-seeking is, "None that seek shall find." But write in love. Write what a loving spirit prompts. Write that you may do good. This purpose will give you strength, — will add nerve to your thoughts and wings to your words. You will do good, and get good. You may trace your own rill of benevolent effort far and long, before it mingles with the full tide of human progress; or, if not, in that better world, where all high aims and worthy efforts are treasured up, the rill will flow apart again and forever.

A. P. P.

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ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT.

THE doctrine of the atonement is sometimes described, both by its friends and adversaries, as if it implied that sentiments of mercy in the Divine Father were first inspired by the mediation of the Son; that the former was full of wrath, until it was assuaged by the interposition of the latter. But, on the contrary, it is distinctly maintained by others, among whom may be numbered Calvin and Watts, that the design of redemption, by the ministry of the Son, originated with the Father; that it was not the Son who disposed the Father to thoughts of mercy, but the mercy of the Father induced Him to appoint the Son to the office and the work of saving men from their sins!

The difference may be expressed by the terms, "would not," and "could not." Those who embrace the "could not" theory of the atonement, as the orthodox one, reject the other as a misrepresentation. It was not, they say, that God wanted a heart, and "would not" be merciful, but because he "could not" (could not consistently, could not with moral propriety,) spare, forgive, and save sinners, that the work of making atonement was indispensably needful. There must be satisfaction made to the law, truth, and justice of God. The atonement, therefore, is vicarious in its character. It is one thing substituted for another. It is the death of the "Just One" in the room and stead of the ungodly.

This view of the doctrine of the atonement is thought to be sustained chiefly by 1. The literal interpretation of certain texts of Scripture; 2. Its indispensable necessity to the support of moral government, which, if God should pardon the sins of men on the ground of their repentance only, would be essentially impaired, and even virtually annulled.

Having given what we understand this theory and ground of the doctrine of the atonement to be, we shall proceed to make a statement of some of the difficulties to which it is manifestly exposed.

1. It is not sustained by the sense of the word *atonement*, either in the Old Testament or in the New. It is acknowledged that the use of the word, in the New Testament, is not in this sense. It here signifies the reconciliation of man to God, not the reconciliation of God to man. But it is contend-

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ed that in the Old Testament the word bears its technical and doctrinal import; the reconciliation of God to man. Even there, however, its import does not accord with the theory. It there has the "would not," instead of the "could not," sense of the term. "And the Lord said unto Moses, let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against this people and consume them. But Moses besought the Lord his God, saying; Lord, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people? — Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Israel, thy servants. — And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people." Exodus, xxxii. 10, 11, 14. Here the representation is that of the "would not." And such, also, in Num. xvi. 46. "And Moses said unto Aaron, take a censer and put fire therein from off the altar, and put on incense, and go quickly into the congregation and make an atonement for the people, for there is wrath gone out from the Lord; the plague is begun." "And they stood between the dead and the living, and the plague was stayed." Of a similar character is the case of Phinehas, related in chap. xxv. 11. "And the Lord said, Phinehas the son of Eleazar hath turned my wrath away from the children of Israel, that I consumed them not in my jealousy." It is, therefore, a clear case, supported by an induction of plain examples, that the doctrine as stated above does not correspond to the representations of it, even in the Old Testament. And if it be not found either in the Old or in the New Testament, the fact is ominous.

2. None of the atonements, above noted, were made by burnt offerings or sacrifices for sin. No victim was immolated, no blood was shed, no altar was lighted up, no sacrifice was consumed. On the ground, that the orthodox theory of the atonement is true, the fact ought to have been very different. And how is this difficulty to be resolved? Moses prayed; Aaron made an offering of burnt incense; and "Phinehas stood up and executed judgment." By these means were the atonements made; by such bloodless sacrifices was the reconciliation of Jehovah procured. Let this fact have its due consideration.

3. But very few of the sacrifices, under the Old Dispensation, were of an expiatory character; *burnt offerings for sin.* There were meat offerings, drink offerings, peace or festive offerings, thank offerings, heave offerings, and the common burnt offerings; but only a very few were trespass or sin offerings.

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All of them, however, should have been of this description, if the orthodox doctrine concerning them be correct. What is their doctrine on this subject? It is that the whole institution of sacrifices was prospective of the death of Christ; types of Him as the vicarious sacrifice for the sins of the world; wholly unmeaning and inexplicable on any other principle; and that this character of them was understood by the saints of the ancient church. That the true character of them was understood must be admitted, for otherwise they would have been deceptive and useless. But none of the Jewish saints and prophets have given this character to sacrifices. They are all entirely silent on this subject. Moses intimates no such thing; nor does David; nor the author of the book of Job; nor any of the prophets. The passage, Ps. xl. 6, 7, 8, so often misapplied, is no exception. It is manifest that the whole ancient church was totally in the dark in regard to this great fact, if it be a fact. And is all this credible? Will any orthodox man give us the solution?

But what was the true original design of sacrifices? Was it the worship of God, or the prefiguration of the Messiah's death, that great vicarious sacrifice for sin? If the latter, why were they not all burnt offerings for sin? Why did they not all consist in the immolation of living victims? Why were many of them meat offerings, drink offerings, incense offerings, and the offering of the first fruits? In these there was nothing vicarious or expiatory; nothing prefigurative of bloodshed and death. They certainly were not types of the Messiah's sufferings and death. They were, it is manifest, mere acts of worship; expressions of veneration, gratitude, and prayer to God. And if these were acts of worship, so, undoubtedly, were the whole class of sacrificial offerings. The design must have been one. One purpose, one object, one moral element, must have extended to the whole, and originated them. As one natural property pertained to every sacrifice, its destruction, its loss to the sacrificer for God's sake; so one moral principle must have pervaded their origin, design, and use. And was this to honor God, or to symbolize a future event? If the latter, then it was not the former; and if the former, then it was not the latter.

It is recorded of Cain and Abel, that each "brought an offering unto the Lord." The expression carries on the face of it the idea of doing honor to God; an act of worship. Orthodox commentators have said that Cain's offering failed to be

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acceptable, because it was not a living victim for a burnt offering. But when God instructed Cain on this subject, He gave no intimation of a fault in this respect. The cause of non-acceptance was assigned to another account. "If thou livest well, thou shalt be accepted; but if thou livest not well thou sinnest and canst not be accepted."

Throughout the Old Testament the constant representation is, that the design of sacrifices was the acknowledgment and worship of Jehovah. "Honor the Lord with thy substance and with the first fruits of thine increase, so shall thy barns be filled with wheat and thy presses burst forth with new wine." "Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me — robbed me in tithes and in offerings. Bring ye in all the tithes and offerings, and let there be meat in my house and prove me herewith, saith Jehovah, if I do not pour down blessings that there be not room enough to receive them."

The apostle Paul makes abundant use of the Jewish paraphernalia for the illustration of facts belonging to Christianity. "Which things," says he, "were a figure for the time present." But in what sense were they figures or types? Not in a primary and technical sense; for they were not so understood. But they were fit to be accommodated to *the purpose of illustration.* The high priest was a type of Christ; the most holy place, a type of heaven; and the Old Covenant, a type of the New — in the same sense that the flood and the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah were a type of the ruin, that afterwards fell upon the Jewish nation from the Roman armies. Had they been types in the proper and highest sense, and that, the design of them, it were requisite that this design should have been revealed and known. Such, however, manifestly was not the fact.

4. The Saviour, in the New Testament, is called a Lamb; "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." And He is so called in allusion to the paschal lamb, made use of in the celebration of the Jewish Passover. "For even Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us." Now the paschal lamb was not a sin-offering; not an expiatory sacrifice; not a sacrifice at all, in the legal and technical sense. It was not brought to the altar, nor slain in the sanctuary, nor offered by a priest; but brought home; slain at home; roasted and eaten at home. Its use was significant and monumental. It was a signal of protection from God. With the exception of the first passover,

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it looked backward and not forward. In what sense, then, was the paschal lamb a sacrifice? It could be such only in a secondary and distant one; not in a strict and proper sense. Of course, the Lord Jesus Christ may be a sacrifice only in a sense similar and equivalent. His death, certainly, was not a sacrifice in form; not according to the directions of the law. He was not brought to the altar, nor slain by those who ministered thereat, nor was His blood caught in bowls and sprinkled about in the Sanctuary; nor His flesh consumed with fire. No one offered Him as a sacrifice, not even Himself, in the ritual import of the word. The obvious inference is, that Christ was a sacrifice only in the free, distant, and accommodation-sense of the term. And in the same sense, it must be, that He died for His people; bare their sins; cleanses them by His blood, and justifies them by His death.

5. The manner in which the blood of Christ is, in the New Testament, represented as working its saving effect, does not support the doctrine of expiation. His blood is described as an agent of purification. "The blood of Jesus Christ, His Son, cleanses us from all sin." 1 John i. 9. But to cleanse is not to expiate. The two terms differ in their import. The one signifies to make clean, to purify; the other to cancel an offence, to remove the ground of punishment. Such is its import in the language of orthodoxy. It does not admit, but denies, that the purification of the heart from sin is, of itself, a condition of a man's pardon. But in the New Testament, the blood of Christ is declared to be the cause (moral, of course) of cleansing His people from their sins. It takes away the heart of stone and gives the heart of flesh. It weans them from the love and the practice of sin, shedding abroad in their hearts the love of truth, of holiness, and of God.

Again, Heb. ix. 12, 14. "For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ..... purge our consciences from sin and dead works, to serve the living God." By the conscience, we are, doubtless, to understand the heart. The heart is cleansed when it is made holy; when it becomes truly penitent, humble, upright. The blood of Christ is declared to purge the heart from sin and dead works, to serve the living God. The blood of Christ expresses all that He did for the salvation of man. He consummated his work by shedding His blood; by

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His death. Hence this whole work is described by a reference to His death. Believers are said to be reconciled to God by the death of His Son; to be justified, — (made righteous) by His blood; to be saved by His life; and to be justified by His resurrection. The same effect is referred to different parts of His work. The language is figurative; a part is contemplated as including the whole. In strictness of speech, it is the doctrine of Christ, enforced as it was by His example and life, that acts directly in cleansing the heart from its ignorance, error, and iniquity; translating it from darkness into light. There is no intermediate agent between the truth, and the heart, when the former acts upon the latter. The truth, therefore, is the proper means of the heart's sanctification. So our Saviour teaches; John xvii. 3. "Sanctify them through thy truth." And again chap. xviii. 3. "Now ye are clean through the word that I have spoken unto you." Also in Ps. cxix. 9. "Wherewith shall a young man cleanse his way? By taking heed thereto according to thy word." As the true word must be believed before it can act upon the heart, hence sanctification is ascribed to faith. Acts xxvi. 18. "Sanctified by faith that is in me." And Acts xv. 9. "Purifying their hearts by faith." When therefore, the blood of Christ is said to cleanse the believer from his sins and to justify him, it must evidently be understood to act through the medium of the truth; the truth received by faith. In the same way are believers saved by the life, by the death, and by the resurrection, of Christ. All that He did, and endured, are contemplated as one whole, crowned by the great events of His death and resurrection. It is the whole that produces the effect. By a common figure of speech, the effect is often attributed to certain parts of the whole, but especially to His blood; His death. And this represented, not as expiating their guilt, but as cleansing their consciences; their hearts. And they are cleansed by removing the love, and the habits of sin; by pervading them with those sentiments of holiness, which prepare their feet to run in the way of God's commandments. It is impossible that the hearts of sinners can be cleansed in any other manner. Let their guilt be expiated, that alone does not change the character of their hearts. Exonerate a criminal from his penal liabilities, but his disposition to commit wickedness may yet remain in all its strength and effectiveness. But the blood of Christ makes the heart good. It is a moral cause producing a good moral

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effect. Such is the scriptural representation. This, however, does not agree with the doctrine of vicarious expiation. That doctrine, therefore, must have but a very doubtful authority from the Holy Bible.

6. The figurative language of Scripture affords but a very equivocal foundation for the popular sense, and vicarious character of the word atonement. Yet confident reliance is placed on such passages as the following; "He bare our sins in His own body on the tree." "He was wounded for our transgressions; He was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes are we healed." "The Lord hath laid on Him the iniquities of us all." "He was made sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him." "He shall bear their iniquities." But should these and others similar to them be accepted in a close and literal sense? Is the language of the Bible generally to be so understood? Is it plain, simple, unamplified and exact? How are we to understand those passages which describe God Himself, as laden, and weary with the the sins of His people? As being "made to serve with their sins?" How is it that He was "married" to them? And in what sense did Jesus take upon Himself the people's infirmities and bear their sicknesses? Was he sick in their room and stead? In what sense was it that Jerusalem had suffered at the Lord's hand twice as much as she deserved for her sins? Isaiah i. 2. And that Elijah, the Tishbite, was sent on a second mission, in the person of John, the Baptist? That the saints will judge angels and the whole world? That a Christian should, and must, hate his nearest and most worthy relations? And that he, who violates one precept of the law, transgresses the whole of it? No one pretends that these, and a thousand others of the same description, should be accepted as spoken literally. The Bible is the last book in the world to be so interpreted. It would thus be made to utter more contradictions and discrepancies, than it contains sections and chapters. With what propriety, then, is the literal interpretation so vehemently urged and insisted upon, as our orthodox brethren urge it, on the subject of the atonement? They, certainly, are not compelled to do this by the analogical rule of Scripture-exegesis. They, themselves, do not so interpret the Bible on other subjects.

7. The doctrine of the atonement, in its popular sense, involves, (if not an impossibility) a great amount of inconsistency

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and deception. It assumes that moral responsibilities may be transferred from one person to another; that what Adam did may be justly accounted to Jesus Christ; and that what Jesus did may be accounted to Adam. That in the view of God a man may be regarded as being wholly different from what he really is; "That Just One," Jesus Christ, regarded and treated as a sinner; and the transgressors, themselves, regarded and treated as righteous. That a perfect righteousness is indispensable to justification, and that the believing sinner finds this in Christ, puts it on, and wears it for his own wedding garment; and yet that God renders to every man according to his works; the righteousness of the righteous being upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked being upon him; there being no partiality, no favoritism, with Him. All this, however, is inconsistent; is impossible. It declares that men are exonerated from suffering the penalty of their sins. But this is inconsistent with known facts. Men are, every day, suffering the penal retributions of Divine Providence upon them for their iniquities. Here is another inconsistency. The doctrine declares that God's law and justice have received satisfaction for the sins of mankind, at least, for those of the elect. How then can the offenders need any pardon? What is there to forgive or remit, after satisfaction has been received? The doctrine declares that men are justified wholly on account of what Christ has done and suffered; and not at all, nor in any sense, on account of what they do, or can do, themselves. Why then call upon them to do anything? Why preach the Gospel to them? Here is a great inconsistency.

The doctrine of the atonement teaches that redemption is absolute and unconditional. Why then are any conditions ever mentioned? Why is every sinner told that except he repent, he must perish?

The doctrine affirms that justification is attained by faith; by faith, not as a work, not as a righteous act, but as an instrument. But would faith justify a person if it were not a righteous act or work? Can a naked faith save a man? Why then is it described as holy? Why must it work repentance before it can be justly denominated a saving grace?

The doctrine, moreover, says; that even believing evangelically is not fulfilling a condition of salvation. But if fruits, productive of repentance, be not a condition, why is it, in every respect, indispensably requisite to justification? Why is not

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a *sine qua non*, a condition? Why must a term be sponged of all its signification before it can be employed, on the subject of justification? Why employed at all? Why is faith first represented as a holy act, and as a condition; and then both these representations negatived and set aside? Here is a mass of inconsistency.

The doctrine says that "a perfect righteousness is requisite to justification." But the Scriptures do not say this. And why should men make a condition not prescribed in the Bible?

The doctrine asserts that "orthodoxy, and the liberal divinity, propose two schemes of salvation which are heaven-wide apart, the one from the other." But both these schemes come together and harmonize, on the article of repentance. Orthodoxy testifies that if men repent, they will be saved, but if they do not repent, they cannot be saved. And so, likewise, our more liberal divinity. Now if the two schemes propose the very same condition of eternal life, it cannot be a fact, that they are heaven-wide apart; and that, if one be essentially true, the other, of course, must be essentially false. Neither scheme, nor the abettors of it, maintain the principle of retributive merit. One as much, and as freely, as the other, ascribe forgiveness and salvation to the grace and goodness of our heavenly Father. Here, then, is a manifest deception.

"But the orthodox atonement-scheme makes the overture of pardon, on the ground of repentance, to be a privilege, purchased by the blood of Christ." If this be admitted, still the importance and efficacy of repentance remain undiminished, unchanged. A liberal preacher teaches his hearers that God will pardon and accept them, for He is merciful, and hath exalted His Son, Jesus Christ, to be a Prince and a Saviour, dispensing to men repentance and the remission of their sins. An orthodox preacher teaches them that, in order to be pardoned they "must receive the doctrine of the atonement with a contrite and penitent faith." Here, then, instead of one means of salvation, repentance, we have three; the atonement, faith, and repentance; that the atonement will not save a man until it be received; that it can be received only by faith; and that faith cannot be the organ of reception, unless it be contrite and penitent. The atonement, then, is inefficacious without faith; and faith is inefficacious without repentance. The efficacy of the whole, therefore, consists in repentance. Now if repentance contains all the efficacy, that cannot be a faulty scheme which proposes and urges repentance. Nor can that scheme

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have any real advantage which proposes terms, of themselves inefficacious; wholly relative and conventional. Where all the efficacy is, there, of course, is all that is important and indispensable.

And is there any more grace or mercy in the orthodox scheme than in the other? If the mercy of God prompt him first to provide the atonement, and then, on the ground of it, to make the overture of salvation conditioned on repentance, is there, in this, a greater display of mercy, than in making the overture directly, on the same condition? Is not the manifestation of grace as real and conspicuous in the latter case as in the former?

"But it costs more in the one case than in the other." And who pays this cost more in the one case than in the other? Was it human nature or the Divine? — Did Divinity suffer and die? How then did God defray more expense according to the atonement-scheme, than according to that of unpurchased mercy?

"But He displayed more wisdom in contriving a plan for the satisfaction of justice, than in dispensing mercy at the expense of justice." True wisdom consists in devising and putting into effective operation the means best adapted to accomplish the end. In raising up His Son, Jesus Christ, and endowing Him with all the requisite qualifications to arrest men in their course of sin, and lead them into the paths of righteousness, did not God display all possible wisdom? What can be done more wisely than to accomplish a most important and difficult work in the most effective and happy manner? In regard to satisfaction, justice, being no other than a particular modification of goodness, is always satisfied with what is conducive to the general welfare. It is willing to forgive, if forgiveness do not stand in contravention of the public good. And, furthermore, there can be no satisfaction, except in exacting the penalty itself. And the penalty is the punishment of the very offender. It admits no substitute; no vicarious equivalent. Its language is, He that sinneth shall bear the burden of his iniquity. To him, and to him only are the wages of it due. Since the world began, the principle of vicarious retribution has never been adopted, except by mistake and error. When the innocent have suffered in the place of the guilty, either a mistake has been ignorantly made, or an error blindly and rashly committed. In neither case can it be justified. Enlightened justice receives from it no satisfaction.

Christian nations have generally believed in the doctrine of

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vicarious atonement. Yet none of them have ever adopted the principle of it into their legislation. The fathers of New England took the Bible for their statute-book, and appointed Winthrop and Ward to make a digest of it. But they never attempted the practice of vicarious retribution. And why? Not because they were indisposed to imitate every Scriptural example; but because they perceived and knew that the principle of it was unreasonable and unjust; deleterious and intolerable: that it would impede the administration of justice, instead of aiding and satisfying it.

The doctrine of expiatory atonement has more of a heathen aspect, than of a Christian. The Gentiles believed that the gods took great pleasure in bloody oblations and sacrifices. The more choice and worthy the victim, the more acceptable the offering. A human life, immolated at the altar, had the preference above all others. They seem never to have entertained the impression, that the true way of gaining the Divine acceptance was the practice of virtue; the possession of moral worth. How totally different from the heathen is the doctrine of Moses and the prophets in the Old Testament; but especially of Jesus and the apostles in the New? — Was the God of the Bible ever appeased with blood? Were not Ashtaroth and Moloch the very antitheses of His character? But if the death of Jesus gave him pleasure, whom, in this instance, did He resemble?

The doctrine of the expiatory death of Jesus is most unworthy of the character of Jehovah; being discrepant from it in every possible degree. It supposes principles in Him, the very opposite of those by which he was actuated, when He gave His Son to be the light and the life of the world. It was his love of human welfare, and not jealousy for the honor of His law, that moved the Father to the gift of His Son. The death of Jesus could do nothing to repair the violated majesty of the law, except in the factitious light of a delusive imagination. For who, on the earth, or above the earth, or under the earth, has, on this account, a better, or a more impressive, conception of the Divine law? Who is rendered the more afraid of transgressing it? Many have been made less fearful, but who have been awakened to greater caution and solicitude? If we could measure the good and the harm, on this head, done by the doctrine under consideration, it is not difficult to form an opinion of what would be the result; which scale of the balance would preponderate.

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Contemplate the case of a despot who always takes vengeance for every transgression. When he cannot do it on the offender, he wreaks it on another. No misdeed goes unrevenged. But one half the punishments fall on the head of the innocent. Is this an example of good government? Would the citizens be uncommonly cautious and afraid of transgression? Would the laws command nominal respect? No. Such a government would be more productive of complaints, curses, and crimes, than of praises, benefits, and blessings.

Many passages of Scripture on this subject are greatly misapplied. We cannot notice all of them. The prophecy of Caiphas, John xi. 49 . . . 52, is adduced. Can it be believed that this high priest, so inimical to Jesus, was really inspired? And that he regarded Jesus as the true Messiah, who was to be made an expiatory sacrifice for "the children of God?" The obvious fact is, that Caiphas intended to represent Jesus to the Emperor as a dangerous man, who entertained the purpose of heading a rebellion against the Roman government, and which had been prevented by his arrest and crucifixion. This measure he deemed "expedient," for by it he hoped to do a pleasure to the Romans and thus procure favor for the Jews.

Much is made of the passage, Heb. xi. 15 — "And for this cause He is the Mediator of the New Testament, that by means of death, for the redemption (the removal of the cause) of transgressions, under the First Testament, they who are called might receive the promise of an eternal inheritance." This is relied on as proof of the retrospective view and efficacy of the atoning sacrifice of Christ. But, evidently, here is no indication of a retrospective view. The conclusion is in the present tense; "that they who are called, &c." And as the conclusion is in the present time, so doubtless, must be the premises. The apostle, therefore, speaks of the times which then were, not of the times which had been. The First Testament, the Old Covenant, though waxen old and ready to vanish away, was still in existence. It did not pass away until the administration of the Mosaic law ceased to be maintained in Jerusalem. And while this law continued, it created many inconvenient and grievous liabilities, especially to the Jewish Christians. The apostle, probably, had reference to them in the passage, Romans vii. 6, 7, 8, 9.

Again, the text; Romans iii. 25; "Whom God hath set forth a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare . . . .

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his righteousness, that He might be just, and the Justifier of him that believeth in Jesus." The last part of this passage is generally quoted with the word, *yet,* interposed; 'might be just and *yet* the Justifier; as though there was expressed an opposition of sentiment. But the word does not belong to the passage. And there is no contrast of sentiment expressed. God manifests His righteousness, as moral Governor, when He accepts and justifies a true disciple of Jesus Christ. Such an one possesses the spirit of holiness, and cannot be otherwise than acceptable in the sight of God. He is accepted on the ground of what he is; his real, personal character; not on the ground of being a descendant of Abraham, and having performed many "dead works" in obedience to the Mosaic ritual, on which account the Jews were so strongly prone to boast and be proud.

"Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation." A propitiatory; not an expiatory. The place of the latter, if any where, must have been the altar of burnt-offerings; but the place of the former was the mercy-seat, under the Cherubim, and the Shekinah, in the Most Holy place. The text, therefore, does not teach the doctrine of expiation; of vicarious atonement. It represents Christ, exhibited in the Gospel, as being the propitiatory, the mercy-seat, whence God dispenses His smiles and His blessings; not the place where He exacts the rights and penalties of His law.

We have known two texts, one from the ixth, the other from the xth ch. of Hebrews, placed in juxtaposition, and reasoned from as if they constituted a single text. This is an unfair method of quotation; for by it, many false conclusions might by established. "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission." "For it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sin." The conclusion is drawn that the blood of Christ alone takes away sin. But let us examine the premises. Does the apostle intend to affirm that the sacrifices of the Mosaic Covenant did not, in any sense, remove the liabilities of the transgressor? No: For such an affirmation would not be true. It is expressly declared, in many passages of the law, that by making the prescribed offerings, the man should be forgiven. He should be exonerated from his social and public liabilities. But they could not make his heart good, nor cleanse it from a sense of conscious sin. In this sense, no offered blood — no costly oblations, could take away sin. But when the apostle says; "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission," it is certainly implied that, by

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the shedding of blood there was remission. The connexion testifies that this was the intended purport of his language.

It may not be improper, here, to institute some brief inquiry respecting the character of forgiveness from God toward men. Does it imply that all the threatened and consequent penalties of transgression shall be withholden? No. For manifestly, such is not the fact. God did not, in this sense, forgive Adam; nor Moses; nor David; nor Solomon. What God specifically threatens the sinner, will come upon him. No repentance ever averts it. The transgressor must eat the fruit of his evil way. The connection between the offence and its punishment is as indissoluble, as the link that binds cause and consequence together. But God forgives the sinner by accepting him when penitent and converted to righteousness. He treats him as being just what he is; contrite, reformed, obedient. The righteous Lord loveth the righteous. Reformed transgressors are a description of righteous persons. "God is with you so long as ye be with Him." God's having pleasure in a person implies condescension, benignity, forgiveness, but not the cancelling of all the penalties of iniquity. The providence of God furnishes irrefragable evidences that He maintains His moral government. It admits no vicarious atonements. They would mar and debilitate, not aid and perfect it. God certainly approves every good thing in frail, wicked man. And the Divine approval, secured by habitual reformation, amounts to forgiveness. It is a blessing. For God's favor is life; His loving kindness, better than life.

One word respecting the Jewish dress, worn by Christianity in the epistolary part of the New Testament. How is it to be accounted for? It is not a problem of dubious solution. The religious views of a Jew were so enveloped in the forms of the Mosaical Institute, that without them he could have no clear conception of any true religion. Hence Christianity is invested with them. It has its altar, its atonement, its priest, its sacrifices, its *sanctum sanctorum*, &c. But the Christian altar, atonement, propitiatory, sacrifices, and priest, are things very different from the Jewish. All these are to be understood in an accommodation-sense. Nor is this sense, in its several different applications, hard to be understood. Guided by the plain truths, and obvious spirit, of the Christian law, we need not fall into any important mistake.

F.

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THE FUTURE LIFE.

How shall I know thee in the sphere which keeps
The disembodied spirits of the dead,
When all of thee that time could wither sleeps
And perishes among the dust we tread?

For I shall feel the sting of ceaseless pain
If there I meet thy gentle presence not;
Nor hear the voice I love, nor read again
In thy serenest eyes the tender thought.

Will not thy own meek heart demand me there?
That heart whose fondest throbs to me were given?
My name on earth was ever in thy prayer,
Shall it be banished from thy tongue in heaven?

In meadows fanned by heaven's life-breathing wind,
In the resplendence of that glorious sphere,
And larger movements of the unfettered mind,
Wilt thou forget the love that joined us here?

The love that lived through all the stormy past,
And meekly with my harsher nature bore,
And deeper grew, and tenderer to the last,
Shall it expire with life, and be no more?

A happier lot than mine, and larger light,
Await thee there; for thou hast bowed thy will
In cheerful homage to the rule of right,
And lovest all, and renderest good for ill.

For me the sordid cares, in which I dwell,
Shrink and consume the heart, as heat the scroll;
And wrath hath left its scar — that fire of hell
Has left its frightful scar upon my soul.

Yet, though thou wear'st the glory of the sky,
Wilt thou not keep the same beloved name,
The same fair thoughtful brow, and gentle eye,
Lovlier in heaven's sweet climate, yet the same?

Shalt thou not teach me, in that calmer home,
The wisdom that I learned so ill in this —
The wisdom which is love — till I become
Thy fit companion in that land of bliss?

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THE PILGRIM FATHERS:

A Poem recited in the Church of the Disciples, Boston, on the Festival of the Pilgrims, Dec. 22d, 1842.

That ancient church which understood the way
So well, upon the human heart to play,
And so sagaciously the means could find
Which, from without, might influence the mind,
Adapted all its solemn Liturgy
To sense, imagination, memory;
And to each day a sacred meaning lent,
By patron saint or memorable event;
Thus walking with her sons the year around,
And treading every day on hallowed ground.
When our severer faith shall comprehend
To use Imagination as its friend,
And, while appealing to the inmost soul,
And urging upon Conscience its control,
Shall try all means by which the heart is won,
While doing *this*, not leaving *that* undone;
Then solemn epochs shall again appear,
Circling the earth with each revolving year;
And none be named in loftier speech or song,
Than this, which to the Pilgrims must belong.

Ask you what kind of persons or events
Should, in our calendar, find monuments?
In all great movements we'd find something good,
Trace in all sects some cause for gratitude.
One day to Rome herself we'd consecrate;
Her martyrs, heroes, poverty, and state,
Jesuits, who plant the cross in far Cathay,
And rule a continent in Paraguay;

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To Rome, who trampled on the neck of kings,
To Rome, from out whose fruitful bosom springs
Such wondrous monuments of thought and art,
A Dante's solemn song, a Raphael's tender heart;
Inspired by whom, rude nations lifted high
Cathedral spires against a Northern sky;
Whose awful sacraments and solemn forms
Awed the fierce noble, calmed the common's storms;
Yet not for these that ancient church we'd bless
As for one specimen of holiness,
To honor him one day might well be given,
Not sainted here, but sure a saint in Heaven;
The birth-day of Rome's loftiest, lowliest son;
Her choicest fruit, her lovely Fenelon.

Our second festival might choose the date
When Luther fixed to the Cathedral gate
His ninety daring Theses, and began
A second era for the mind of man.
Devote that day to Freedom — on that morn
Freedom of mind, freedom of act was born;
Born to be nursed with tears, baptized with blood;
Fountain of evil, source of mighty good.

Two other festivals might follow then,
Sacred to Wesley and to William Penn,
All these we'd honor, all their feasts revere,
Yet more than all, the Pilgrim day be dear.

The Pilgrim Fathers — by that name alone
They, in each clime, through every land are known;
And yet how different their hope and aim
From those who bore of old the Pilgrim name.
No voyage to ancient Palestine they planned,
Beyond the ocean lay their Holy Land.

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Never could they have joined the enterprise
Which made all Europe as one man arise;
Princes and peasants, boors and chivalry,
Following the bare-foot friar's piercing cry —
"Come! see the tomb wherein the Lord hath lain,"
To faint and perish on the Syrian plain.
By deeper feelings were these Pilgrims led,
Not on the brink of empty graves to tread,
Where Jesus' body hung on Calvary;
But where they hoped his spirit was to be.
Not to the aged East, his place of rest,
But to the yet unknown, untravelled West.
Not where their faith within its cradle lay,
Nor where it tottered on its infant way,
But where they longed, in dignity and strength,
Its perfect manly form to see at length.
Not to the Past, in meditation slow,
And solemn musing did their footsteps go,
Pilgrims of hope, the fire within them burned,
With faces wholly to the Future turned.

Oh golden Future! mid their iron toil,
Above, cold skies, — beneath, a frozen soil;
With thy sweet daughter Hope thou didst beguile
Rude labor, in thy light the deserts smile;
In fair Ideal beauty visions rise,
Purpling the blackness of the woods and skies;
The rough prosaic Puritan began
To turn a Poet in the inner man;
He penned no stanzas to his mistress' locks,
But wrote his poetry on granite rocks;
Stamped his ideas on a stormy shore,
His music savage yells and ocean's roar;
Free schools, log churches, filled this poet's dream,
A Christian Commonwealth his noble theme.

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His thoughts the farthest in the future ran,
Of all that age the most Ideal man.

Smile not, my friends, that with such terms I greet
Our unromantic fathers' wandering feet;
I call them poets, though their muse perverse
Ne'er traced a tolerable line of verse.
I call them poets, — poetry I find
In the substantial basis of their mind.
Poets, unrecognised within their day
Come always in an unexpected way,
Come with new methods, take us by surprise,
Cheat with strange garb our unaccustomed eyes.
The solemn harmonies and lofty chords
Of pilgrim poetry, unwrit in words,
They wrote in institutions on our shore,
Marking ideas unattained before.

And yet a higher praise belongs this day
To Him who from Religion took away
Its outward husk of form and cold routine,
And showed the precious fruit contained within.
His manly faith close to the centre trod,
Lying unclothed beneath the eye of God;
He dared to look on Life's great mystery
With his own mind, his own unclouded eye.
Serious to sternness, for he fought a fight,
Whose stake was endless bliss or endless night;
In this great warfare he must fight alone,
No earthly voice for him approach the throne;
He needed not the help of Priest or Seer,
Himself the Priest, his own the Prophet's ear;
The change of surplice he could not abide,
For claims of priesthood were with this allied;
From out the Book of Prayer he could not pray,
His heart to Heaven pointed a nearer way.

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These in themselves were neither bad nor good,
So is an Idol but a block of wood;
Yet if this block be worshipped, then it grows
A hateful thing, the source of sins and woes.
The robe and book were worshipped; and they cast
Chains on the mind; they held it to the past.
Rather than bear this yoke our Fathers came,
Left the dear home, the old ancestral name;
Left the sweet fields where childhood's footsteps strayed,
Dipped in the stream or rested in the shade.
All this they left and more — the world of mind,
Arts, science, comforts, tastes, were all behind.
Oh then forbear the smile, the empty sneer,
As though some petty scruple brought them here.
They fought with shadows — true — yet well they said,
That when Religion's shadows, broadly spread,
Much larger than the substances have grown,
'T is a sure sign that night is coming on.
They left that setting sun, though all the sky
Blazed with his glories as he sank to die;
They turned to where a cold and feeble ray
Crept, a faint presage of the coming day.
Strong in the hope that with that opening morn,
New light from God would on the nations dawn;
New truths shine out from God's all-holy word,
Which Luther never saw nor Calvin heard;
The long predicted days at length should come,
When peace and love might find on earth a home;
The scaffolding of Piety might fall,
And the fair Temple stand revealed to all.

What faith but this their fainting heart sustained?
Beside this hope, what other hope remained,
Amid the terrors of that winter rude,
Its hunger, sickness, cold, and solitude?

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Could we by fancy's help look in and see
Grouped in one house the assembled company,
Met in their deep distress to seek the Lord,
And gather comfort from his holy word;
Perchance an earnest speaker we might hear,
In that great hour of trial and of fear,
Break through the common forms, forget to preach,
And thus to Heaven address his tearful speech.

Oh hearken Lord! to Thee we call upon this lonely shore,
Amid the pauses of the storm we hear the ocean's roar.
That ocean spreads its far, far path between us and our home.
But thou, O Lord! art everywhere, to thee we boldly come.
To thee we come, while darkly fall around night's blackening shades,
And wolves are howling fearfully about our palisades,
Our men are worn with labor, our women cold and faint,
Yet patiently we 'll bear our cross, we 'll utter no complaint.
We bless thee for thy mercies, Lord, we 'll trust thy goodness still,
For thou hast done great things for us, great is thy holy will;
For thou hast closely bound us in one fraternal band,
And brought us o'er the awful deep in the hollow of thy hand,
And placed us here to worship thee, where none our faith molest;
Where bishops will not trouble us, where kings will leave us rest.
And though around us all is dark and all before us drear,
Though savage beasts and savage men give constant care and fear,
Though Massassoit threaten, and each wild Sagamore,
From Pokanokick in the wood to Nauset on the shore
Combine their wild battalions, and mid the gloom of night
Their horrid yells with sudden burst, our little town affright;

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And what is worst of all to bear, to bear and not complain,
We hear our children ask for bread, and hear them ask in vain.
While sickness thins our number, and now beneath the sod
As many of us sleep in Christ, as above it pray to God.
And in this strait wise Bradford is troubled in his mind,
And prudent master Carver no counsel good can find,
And brave Miles Standish scarcely hopes our fortress to defend,
Yet thou, O Lord, art near us, and thou canst still befriend.
If thou hast chosen us, O Lord, to be a nation's seed,
Then thy right arm will bring to pass, what thy wisdom has decreed.

Yes, in this day of darkness — yea! even now I see
A vision fair of future days — comes it, O Lord, from thee?
A comfort of the Holy Ghost to cheer this gloomy hour,
And shall I utter it, O Lord, in spirit and in power?
As from a summit I look down, through the vista of the years,
I gaze beyond two centuries, and a happy land appears.
And where between thick tangled trees flies the light arrow now,
I see the laborer bend between the handles of his plough.
Where now the primal forest spreads, sweeping o'er plain and hill,
A thousand villages I see, lying serene and still.
Where now some scattered ears of corn the earth reluctant yields,
Rich harvests bend before the breeze along a thousand fields.
Where now the Powahs every wood with devil-worship fill,
I see the frequent meeting house on each far-looking hill.
I see sweet children, with their sires, walk to the house of prayer
Beneath a mild October sun, in the soft October air.
Oh feeble ones about my feet, take courage in your woe,
To you shall millions look as sires, from you great nations go;
Far to the setting sun shall spread your mighty progeny,
Numerous as sand by ocean shore, as stars in summer sky.

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All this is plain, but still remains a darker mystery,
A question yet unanswered, a sight I may not see;
What lies beneath the surface no mortal eye may scan,
It is not given to me to read the inmost depths of man.
O children, mid your blessings bought by all our care and pain,
Will you your fathers' spirit keep, the brave old heart retain?
Will you, as we, outrun your day, forgetting things behind;
Be captains of the coming age, advanced guard of the mind?
Or will you cling like cowards to that which we have done,
And think because you copy close, you are the Pilgrim's son?
That you can keep the Pilgrim's heart by holding fast his deed,
The "Spirit of the Pilgrims," by fighting for his creed?
Oh rather pass beyond us, with the advancing hours,
And be as faithful to your light as we have been to ours!

So speaks to me the voice of that old time,
Warning and moving us in tones sublime;
It speaks to all who are assembled here,
All who profess the Fathers to revere,
And who were hewn from out that Pilgrim rock,
And all who glory in the Pilgrim stock,
It says, "Take up the Pilgrim staff and sword,
As Exiles or as Soldiers of the Lord."
Not now to distant continents to roam,
Your work and trial both are close at home;
Not now to leave your home and friends behind,
But stand among them lonely in your mind;
Not now to battle with the Pequot foes,
But errors in your brethren to oppose.
The duty of to-day is no light task,
To meet the greatest questions man can ask;
To gaze, undazzled, in the face of Truth;
Wasting in lonely thought the bloom of youth.
To tread in strange and unaccustomed ways,
Challenging censure and renouncing praise;

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Bearing indifference, contempt, or wrath,
Walking upon a solitary path.
The faithful ones to-day must all be brave,
One must stand up to battle for the slave,
One must bear witness to the Light within,
To those who think faith in such Light a sin.
One for Reforms prolong the tedious fight,
With men who argue, "All that is, is right."
Amid the strife of parties some must stand
Alone, against them every body's hand;
By some thought hot, by others icy cold;
By some too timid, and by some too bold.
These things are no great trials, but to keep,
Mid all, hearts tranquil as an infant's sleep;
But to look forward, trusting still in God
When folly, error, sin are all abroad;
Not to turn Reason-haters, nor repent
That Light and Freedom through the world are sent,
This is the task and duty of to-day.
Let us, remembering the Pilgrims, say
That we will seek for Light as they have sought,
True to their spirit, though we leave their thought.
And if, where'er New-England's children go,
Where'er her tides of emigration flow,
To places low or high, they carry still
Their Fathers' faith, their Fathers' manly will.
That Pilgrim spirit shall forever be
The land's best glory and security;
The best defence in every dangerous shock;
And, as the granite, our primeval rock,
Which far beneath the lowest valley lies,
Soars, with the mountain nearest to the skies,
So shall that spirit hold in one strong band
The loftiest and lowliest in the land.

J. F. C.

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THE BIBLE IN SPAIN.*

"THE Bible in Spain" is unfortunate in two respects. Its name and idea, a missionary tour for the circulation of the Scriptures, would give many readers a wholly unjust idea of the book, and even deter them from looking beneath the covers. Again, the form in which it presents itself as one of those cheap serials, which appear like ephemera and vanish as soon, would beget an equally unfounded contempt in another class, and make them presume that nothing could possess permanent value in this perishable and unclassical shape. And yet, in no respect, does the Bible in Spain belong to either of these kinds of literature. Having real merit and universal interest, being wholly popular in its style, and yet exceedingly curious in its information, crowded with anecdote and adventure, dialogue and incident, throwing a flood of light over Spain from a wholly new point of view, carrying us into the huts of the miserable peasants, giving us the gipsey-talk by the way-side, laying open the inner heart of the land, leading into the reality or prospect of danger every step of the way — although thousands and tens of thousands have been sold already; it has not yet taken its true place in general esteem. We have passed over the peninsula with many travellers, sometimes with great pleasure; but never so agreeably or profitably before: never with one who made us so familiar with national character, or gave us such a homebred feeling for the people at large. Others have described the cities and works of art of this famous old land; many others have acquainted us sufficiently with the life of a single class in the cities — still, a large field remained unoccupied which Mr. Borrow has tilled with great patience and success. No one has ever trodden that ill-fated soil under more manifest advantages. To say nothing of his unwearied perseverance, his heroic daring, his calmness in peril, his presence of mind in disaster, and his love of adventure — several languages, the keys to the people's heart, were at his command. The Gipsey tongue he seems to have understood better

* The Bible in Spain; or the Journeys, Adventures, and Imprisonments of an Englishman, in an attempt to circulate the Scriptures in the Peninsula. By GEORGE BORROW, author of the Gipsies in Spain. Philadel. John M. Campbell. 1843.

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than the Gipsies themselves; and hardly any other language came across his path, from the Spanish to the Russian, which did not appear to bow to him like a supple servant. All kinds of life seem to have been the same to him: whether lying at night in the open air, guarded from the rain only by an old horse-blanket, or falling asleep in the manger to the music of the feeding cattle, or crowded up in the filth of a village posada, or surrounded with all the horrors of the Madrid prison. The five years he spent in Spain were nearly all years of suffering and peril. Besides the usual danger of robbers and highwaymen, there was the desperate malice of the clergy, in a land where the Inquisition once showed its iron handed despotism to be complete; and the probability that if either of the contending parties laid hands upon him, while inflamed by either success or disappointment, his life would pay the penalty. When we admire this voluntary martyrship, beautiful as it is in heroism and self-surrender, in manful courage and religious dependence, we must remember there is in us a roving, adventurous spirit, which luxuriates in this very thing, especially when death is not over likely to encounter the knight-errant, and the teeth of persecution have fallen out with extreme age. Mr. Borrow had evidently something of this spirit, as he shows by the strange choice he continually made of companions and guides — the gipsey and the smuggler, the ruffian, the outcast and the thief seeming to be especial favorites and sworn brothers. He himself says, that "in the day-dreams of his boyhood Spain always bore a considerable share; which interest led him to acquire her noble language, without any presentiment he should be called to take a part in her strange dramas; and the most happy years of his existence were those he passed there." His simple journal speaks a very open heart; its enthusiasm is quite catching; and then there is a touching melancholy in the revelation of a proud nation's degradation and irreligion; though at times he leaves us in the dark as to his meaning, and by retailing word for word long conversations, which could not have been penned at the time, he puts in question his strict veracity, and appears to aim after dramatical effect.

His perils and sufferings, however, we cannot think exaggerated; indeed, they are mentioned as if hardly worth mentioning, as if there was some spice in this variety, some pleasure in looking back upon an experience so rich in romance. We

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would gladly quote his chase after his runaway guide upon a crazy beast of a pony, his arrest as the pretender Don Carlos, his hairbreadth escape from the Carlist party, near Santander, where if caught he would have been shot as an English spy, and his whole stay in the Madrid jail.

But our readers will be more interested by an account of his labors and its results on his particular mission, and the view his narrative leads us to take of poor Spain. Before answering the question, what has this agent of the Bible society done to make the unknown Word a common fireside friend, the wisdom of the simple, the peace of the doubting, the refuge of the tempted, the bliss of the dying spirit, we must remember that our expectations must be small. We have to balance the skill, energy, fearlessness, every unusual accomplishment of the laborer against the apparent impossibilities of his labor; against his eluding the sleepless eye of the catholic clergy; against his rousing the, not only dormant but deadened, intellect of an enslaved people; against his creating among the infidels, superstition has made, a thirst for a religious tract; and particularly, against his so far surmounting, by chance interviews, the prejudices of well-meaning bigotry, as to keep alive upon the dark waters this ark of the last hope. Nothing at first sight could appear more desperate; no enterprise could promise more entire defeat. That he did anything is remarkable; that he had done everything would have been a miracle. He seems to have felt nowise elated by his success; nor can his employers be. But, if the best was done that could be done, and more than could be reasonably expected, (and no one reading these pages candidly can avoid some such conclusion,) we ought to be both satisfied and grateful. Scattering the Scriptures in almost any other country, France for instance, would be a pastime in comparison with the same work in Spain. Life would be as secure as at home; the exemption from personal injury would be certain; only the revered volume would be in peril, amongst the slaves or the tyrants of the church.

Five thousand copies of the New Testament in a Spanish dress were published at Madrid, were there publicly offered for sale day after day and week after week, were carried about from house to house and village to village; sometimes by priests, sometimes by gipsies, were offered for sale at a very low rate, through the whole country — except the eastern portion — were purchased extensively, sometimes greedily, by

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people and priests, were introduced into schools, were associated with the memory of a kind-hearted though eccentric Englishman, and were set at work wherever their instant destruction, and the imprisonment of those who bore them did not frown upon the attempt. Nor was this all; one Gospel, that of Luke, was translated into Basque, and circulated amongst those who use this dialect in the neighborhood of the Calabrian Sea. The same Gospel enjoyed the distinction also of being published in the gipsey tongue, and circulated amongst that singular generation of outcasts. All this we cannot help thinking very remarkable. And probably not another man, if this narration be literal truth, could have accomplished so much.

The description of the translation of the gipsey-gospel in a previous work, "The Zincali," belongs to this part of our account. It was at Madrid. He had previously translated the whole Testament into the Spanish Rommany, but was anxious to circulate among the Gitanos a version in their exact language. He commenced with Pepa and Chicarom.

"Determined that they should understand it, I proposed that they themselves should translate it. The women made no objection, they were fond of our tortulias, and they likewise reckoned on one small glass of Malaga wine, with which I invariably presented them. Upon the whole they conducted much better than could have been expected. We commenced with Saint Luke; they rendered into Rommany the sentences which I delivered them in Spanish. They proceeded as far as the eighth chapter, in the middle of which they broke down. Was that to be wondered after? — Were they improved by these Scripture lectures? I know not. Pepa committed a rather daring theft shortly after, which compelled her to conceal herself for a fortnight. — The Gitanos of Madrid purchased the gospel of Luke freely; many of the men understood it, and prized it highly, induced of course by the language rather than the doctrine; the women were particularly anxious to obtain copies, though unable to read; each wished to have one in her pocket, especially when engaged in thieving expeditions, for they all looked upon it in the light of a charm, which would preserve from all danger and mischance. — I have counted seventeen Gitanos at one time in my apartment; for the first quarter of an hour we generally conversed on indifferent matters, when, by degrees, I guided the subject to religion. I finally became so bold, that I ventured to speak against their inveterate practices,

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thieving and lying, telling fortunes and stealing á pastēsas; this was touching upon delicate ground, and I experienced much opposition and feminine clamor. I persevered, however, and they finally assented to all I said; not that I believe that my words made much impression on their hearts. At last matters were so far advanced they would sing a hymn." — *The Zincali.* I. 318–321.

His plan, after he had published the New Testament, was not to follow the usual course of things in Spain, which could have resulted only in the circulation of a few dozen copies in the course of a year; but,

"After depositing a certain number of copies in the shops of the booksellers of Madrid, to ridę forth, Testament in hand, and endeavor to circulate it amongst the Spaniards, not only of the towns, but of the villages; amongst the children, not only of the plains, but of the hills and mountains. I intended to establish Scripture depôts in the principal towns, and to visit the people in secret and secluded spots, to talk to them of Christ, to explain to them the nature of his book, and to place that book in the hands of those whom I deemed capable of deriving benefit from it." — p. 185.

Then commenced a series of very interesting adventures, to transcribe all of which would be almost reprinting the book; but some of the principal ones are here selected. The first relates to the opposition of the clergy; the severity of which seems to be abundantly justified by facts.

"Throughout my residence in Spain the clergy were the party from which I experienced the strongest opposition; and it was at their instigation that the government originally adopted those measures, which prevented any extensive circulation of the sacred volume through the land. I shall not detain the course of my narrative with reflections as to the state of a church, which, though it pretends to be founded on Scripture, would yet keep the light of Scripture from all mankind, if possible. But Rome is fully aware that she is not a Christian church, and having no desire to become so, she acts prudently in keeping from the eyes of her followers the page which would reveal to them the truths of Christianity. Her agents and minions throughout Spain exerted themselves to the utmost to render my humble labors abortive, and to vilify the work which I was attempting to disseminate. All the ignorant and fanatical

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clergy (the great majority) were opposed to it, and all those who were anxious to keep on good terms with the Court of Rome were loud in their cry against it. There was, however, one section of the clergy, a small one, it is true, rather favorably disposed towards the circulation of the Gospel, though by no means inclined to make any particular sacrifice for the accomplishment of such an end; these were such as professed liberalism, which is supposed to mean a disposition to adopt any reform both in civil and church matters, which may be deemed conducive to the weal of the country. Not a few amongst the Spanish clergy were supporters of this principle, or at least declared themselves so, some doubtless for their own advancement, hoping to turn the spirit of the times to their own personal profit; others, it is to be hoped, from conviction, and a pure love of the principle itself. Amongst these were to be found, at the time of which I am speaking, several bishops. It is worthy of remark, however, that of all these not one but owed his office, not to the Pope, who disowned them one and all, but to the Queen Regent, the professed head of liberalism throughout all Spain. It is not, therefore, surprising that men thus circumstanced should feel rather disposed than not to countenance any measure or scheme at all calculated to favor the advancement of liberalism; and surely such an one was the circulation of the Scriptures. I derived but little assistance from their good will, however, supposing that they entertained some, as they never took any decided stand nor lifted up their voices in a bold and positive manner, denouncing the conduct of those who would withhold the light of Scripture from the world." —pp. 173, 174.

We are next engaged in the success of the work at the very core of the Peninsula, through the country villages. We must break into the midst of the narrative.

"I was aware that I was playing rather a daring game, and that it was very possible that when I least expected it, I might be seized, tied to the tail of a mule, and dragged either to the prison of Toledo or Madrid. Yet such a prospect did not discourage me in the least, but rather urged me to persevere; for at this time, without the slightest wish to magnify myself, I could say that I was eager to lay down my life for the cause, and whether a bandit's bullet or the gaol fever brought my career to a close, was a matter of indifference to me; I was not then a stricken man; 'Ride on because of the word of righteousness,' was my cry.

"The news of the arrival of the book of life soon spread

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like wild-fire through the villages of the Sagra of Toledo, and wherever my people and myself directed our course we found the inhabitants disposed to receive our merchandise; it was even called for where not exhibited. One night, as I was bathing myself and horse in the Tagus, a knot of people gathered on the bank, crying, 'Come out of the water, Englishman, and give us books; we have got our money in our hands.' The poor creatures then held out their hands, filled with cuartos, a copper coin of the value of a farthing, but unfortunately I had no Testaments to give them. Antonio, however, who was at a short distance, having exhibited one, it was instantly torn from his hands by the people, and a scuffle ensued to obtain possession of it. It very frequently occurred, that the poor laborers in the neighborhood, being eager to obtain Testaments, and having no money to offer us in exchange, brought various articles to our habitation as equivalents; for example, rabbits, fruit, and barley, and I made a point never to disappoint them, as such articles were of utility either for our own consumption or that of the horses.

"In Villa Seca there was a school in which fifty-seven children were taught the first rudiments of education. One morning the schoolmaster, a tall, slim figure of about sixty, bearing on his head one of the peaked hats of Andalusia, and wrapped, notwithstanding the excessive heat of the weather, in a long cloak, made his appearance, and having seated himself, requested to be shown one of our books. Having delivered it to him, he remained examining it for nearly half an hour, without uttering a word. At last he laid it down with a sigh, and said, that he should be very happy to purchase some of these books for his school, but from their appearance, especially from the quality of the paper and binding, he was apprehensive that to pay for them would exceed the means of the parents of his pupils, as they were almost destitute of money, being poor laborers. He then commenced blaming the government, which he said established schools without affording the necessary books, adding, that in his school there were but two books for the use of all his pupils, and these he confessed contained but little good. I asked him what he considered the Testaments worth? He said 'Señor Cavalier, to speak frankly, I have in other times paid twelve reals for books inferior to yours in every respect, but I assure you that my poor pupils would be utterly unable to pay the half of that sum.' I replied, 'I will sell you as many as you please for three reals each. I am acquainted with the poverty of the land, and my friends and myself, in affording the people the means of spiritual instruction

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have no wish to curtail their scanty bread.' He replied; '*Bendito sea Dios,*' (blessed be God,) and could scarcely believe his ears. He instantly purchased a dozen, expending, as he said, all the money he possessed, with the exception of a few cuartos. The introduction of the word of God into the country schools of Spain is, therefore, begun, and I humbly hope that it will prove one of those events which the Bible Society, after the lapse of years, will have most reason to remember with joy and gratitude to the Almighty.

"An old peasant is reading in the portico. Eighty-four years have passed over his head, and he is almost entirely deaf; nevertheless, he is reading aloud the second of Matthew; three days since he bespoke a Testament, but not being able to raise the money, he has not redeemed it until the present moment. He has just brought thirty farthings; as I survey the silvery hair which overshadows his sunburnt countenance, the words of the song recurred to me, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." — p. 180.

Still farther on, he finds a purchaser and a patron in a curate. It is at Cobenna, a few leagues from Madrid.

"On arriving at the village, I directed my steps to a house, around the door of which I saw several people gathered, chiefly women. On my displaying my books, their curiosity was instantly aroused, and every person had speedily one in his hand, many reading aloud; however, after waiting nearly an hour, I had disposed of but one copy, all complaining bitterly of the distress of the times, and the almost total want of money, though at the same time, they acknowledged that the books were wonderfully cheap, and appeared to be very good and Christian-like. I was about to gather up my merchandise and depart, when on a sudden the curate of the place made his appearance. After having examined the books for some time with considerable attention, he asked me the price of a copy, and upon my informing him that it was three reals, he replied, that the binding was worth more, and that he was much afraid that I had stolen the books, and that it was, perhaps, his duty to send me to prison as a suspicious character; but added, that the books were good books, however they might be obtained, and concluded by purchasing two copies. The poor people no sooner heard their curate recommend the volumes, than all were eager to secure one, and hurried here and there for the purpose of procuring money, so that between twenty and thirty copies were sold almost in an instant. This adventure not

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only affords an instance of the power still possessed by the Spanish clergy over the minds of the people, but proves that such influence is not always exerted in a manner favorable to the maintenance of ignorance and superstition.

"In another village, on my showing a Testament to a woman, she said, that she had a child at school for whom she should like to purchase one, but that she must know first whether the book was calculated to be of service to him. She then went away, and presently returned with the schoolmaster, followed by all the children under his care; she then, showing the schoolmaster a book, inquired if it would answer for her son. The schoolmaster called her a simpleton for asking such a question, and said, that he knew the book well, and there was not its equal in the world (*no hay otro en el mundo*). He instantly purchased five copies for his pupils, regretting that he had no more money, 'for if I had,' said he, 'I would buy the whole cargo.' Upon hearing this, the woman purchased four copies, namely, one for her living son, another for her *deceased husband*, a third for herself, and a fourth for her brother, whom she said she was expecting home that night from Madrid.

"In this manner we proceeded, not, however, with uniform success. In some villages the people were so poor and needy that they literally had no money; even in these, however, we managed to dispose of a few copies in exchange for barley or refreshments. On entering one very small hamlet, Victoriano was stopped by the curate, who, on learning what he carried, told him, that unless he instantly departed, he would cause him to be imprisoned, and would write to Madrid in order to give information of what was going on." — pp. 187, 188.

Very soon, however, the clergy get alarmed and orders are sent to the alcades of all the villages in New Castile, to seize the New Testament wherever it might be exposed to sale; but not to detain or maltreat the person engaged in it. An exact description of Mr. Borrow accompanied these orders. He now redoubles his efforts at Madrid, and with no slight success.

"My present plan was to abandon the rural districts, and to offer the sacred volume at Madrid, from house to house, at the same low price as in the country. This plan I forthwith put into execution.

"Having an extensive acquaintance amongst the lower orders, I selected eight intelligent individuals to coöperate with me, amongst whom were five women. All these I supplied with Testaments, and then sent them forth to all the parishes in

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Madrid. The result of their efforts more than answered my expectations. In less than fifteen days after my return from Naval Carnero, nearly six hundred copies of the life and words of Him of Nazareth had been sold in the streets and alleys of Madrid; a fact which I hope I may be permitted to mention with gladness and with decent triumph in the Lord.

"One of the richest streets is the Calle Montera, where reside the principal merchants and shopkeepers of Madrid. It is, in fact, the street of commerce, in which respect, and in being a favorite promenade, it corresponds with the far-famed 'Nefsky' of St. Petersburg. Every house in this street was supplied with its Testament, and the same might be said with respect to the Puerto del Sol. Nay, in some instances, every individual in the house, man and child, man-servant and maid-servant, was furnished with a copy. My Greek, Antonio, made wonderful exertions in this quarter; and it is but justice to say, that, but for his instrumentality, on many occasions, I might have been by no means able to give so favorable an account of the spread of 'the Bible in Spain.' There was a time when I was in the habit of saying 'dark Madrid,' an expression which, I thank God, I could now drop. It were scarcely just to call a city 'dark,' in which thirteen hundred Testaments, at least, were in circulation, and in daily use.

"It was now that I turned to account a supply of Bibles, which I had received from Barcelona in sheets, at the commencement of the preceding year. The demand for the entire Scriptures was great; indeed, far greater than I could answer, as the books were disposed of faster than they could be bound by the man whom I employed for that purpose. Eight-and-twenty copies were bespoken and paid for before delivery. Many of these Bibles found their way into the best houses in Madrid. The Marquis of ***** had a large family, but every individual of it, old and young, was in possession of a Bible, and likewise a Testament, which, strange to say, were recommended by the chaplain of the house. One of my most zealous agents in the propagation of the Bible was an ecclesiastic. He never walked out without carrying one beneath his gown, which he offered to the first person he met whom he thought likely to purchase. Another excellent assistant was an elderly gentleman of Navarre, enormously rich, who was continually purchasing copies on his own account, which he, as I was told, sent into his native province, for distribution amongst his friends and the poor." — pp. 190, 191.

Thus, a large edition of the New Testament has been al-

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most entirely disposed of in the very centre of Spain, in "spite of the opposition and the furious cry of the sanguinary priesthood, and the edicts of a deceitful government; and a spirit of religious inquiry excited which, I had hope would sooner or later lead to blessed and most important results." "In the churches of Madrid, the New Testament was regularly expounded every Sunday evening, by the respective curates, to about twenty children who attended, and who were all provided with copies of the society's edition of Madrid, 1837."

Two things must, however, be mentioned in this connexion, which greatly impair the prospect of good. Mr. Borrow seems at times to have acted very whimsically and irrationally. Not to mention his leaving the eastern half of Spain almost untouched, he visits the desolate region of Cape Finisterre, at great hazard of life, with a guide who knew nothing of the way, and was crazy besides, having but a single copy of the New Testament to bestow on any one; and that he gives to the coarse ruffian who served for a time as his jailor and protector! One fact like this brings into suspicion the whole agency. He had a right, to be sure, to cast that single Testament into the Dead Sea of superstition and stupidity; but, he had none whatever to encounter for so improbable a good the immense expense, fatigue, and peril incident to an unvisited and savage spot. Again, we find him taking a long and costly journey to Tangier, without having provided a single copy of the Arabic Bible, while yet his situation and opportunity invited him to this and to no other field of benevolence among the African Moors.

But, what we chiefly intend in this connexion is, that everything we do should be arranged in harmony with what already exists. God works always in proportion to all previous works, —so must we, if we would coöperate with him. Summer breezes are not sent in mid-winter, nor do July nights follow our December days. He does not, and we cannot accomplish any great results by immense leaps, by sudden revolutions. Every great event has its series of smaller events, as naturally preceding it, as the printing press went before the Reformation, as the Baptist prepared the way for him whose shoe-latchet he was not worthy to loose, as the overthrow of a nation is preceded by general luxury, and the recovery of a nation by the renewal of its forgotten habit of virtuous industry.

At this hour Spain seems hardly to permit any real Chris-

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tianity. A rational, living, peaceful, scriptural, holy faith, — a faith, that walks the earth in deeds of love, and sheds a heavenly calm on every spot its feet may touch, — seems shut out of the Peninsula as by a wall of fire. Subject, like its former colonies in America, to continual revolutions, desolated by incessant civil war, presenting no party with which a good man can heartily unite, having not belief enough to live by, though too much for the comfort of avowed Protestantism, having no justice that cannot be bribed, no power not readily shaken, no hope temporal or spiritual that is stable, no tranquillity that is secure for an hour, — our Master, it seems to us, would never have turned his steps thither, and no Apostle of his will find a single "city" ready "to receive him." Still in darkness, we fear the hour of daybreak has not yet come. Still groaning under sore oppression, and reeking with the blood of its own sons, shed in causeless strife one with another, its fields ploughed with cannon-whells, its pruning-hooks changed into spears, a bigoted and sensual priesthood standing on the shore and bidding the angel of light spread his wings for some other spot, what welcome has it for the Prince of Peace, what foothold for his living word?

And yet, let us not say there is no possibility of good. Five thousand Testaments, a quarter of which must have perished very speedily, cannot evangelize fourteen millions, many of whom have never learned to read. Still, though not one among a thousand of the people may have heard of this daring assault upon one of the old citadels of Romanism, the little leaven may perchance go on and leaven the whole lump. Through the clergy and the schoolmaster, through the peasant and his child, it may work its way to the general bosom, and awaken a want that cannot be suppressed, a thirst that must be slaked at the Fountain of Life. We pray that it may be so. We would never despise any beginning, however small in worldly eyes. The very course of our religion, and the rise of every sect belonging to it bid us remember how great a matter a little fire kindleth, — how wide may be the circles which a small stone awakens when cast into the sluggish stream. We trust that He who guides the eagle's flight and notes the sparrow's fall, who never forgets us though we are insignificant, nor despises us though we are unworthy, may bless to the good of a wretched people this their last hope, may cause this chance-scattered seed of divine truth to spring up eventually, as barley dropped

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from the cerements of a mummy has sprung up after a burial of two thousand years!

But, it is the "Bible in Spain;" and no less interesting and valuable are the views given of this land of old renown; especially of its humbler classes, the peasantry, the gypsy, and vagrant population. We do not wonder our author was hailed as a brother "by the children of Egypt." These wild wanderers appear to have had for him an irresistible charm; their company was preferred to that of the highest noble; their language was studied, written, and talked; their guardianship was sought; their promises were trusted; their wants were relieved; their moral renovation attempted at many interviews, and we must think at great hazard of the principal work he had in view. It is an interesting fact regarding this peculiar people, that, so long as they were cruelly persecuted, they flourished and increased; but now, that they have ceased to be punished for any but actual crimes, now that civilization has begun to tame their savage tempers, they are melting away like our Indian tribes. Their condition Mr. Borrow paints to the life; every virtue except chastity they seem to disown; every appearance of religion, except wearing a loadstone, or New Testament-charms, they discard; every injury they can inflict upon those not of their tribe, so far as it can escape the arm of the law, seems to be matter of general congratulation. Their wretchedness has hardly any limit; and yet they seem to enjoy their forlorn state, and to look down on the rest of the world.

But, in Spain, the gipsies are only one degree below the general level. All classes, in all places, with very few exceptions, are in the depths of misery and despair. We are compelled to ask ourselves, as we pass with our author over these untrodden and trackless highways, and through these ruined villages and silent forests, how have the mighty fallen? What axe has been laid at the root of this noble and wide-spreading tree? Has religion, or public policy, or national character, or all united dug this national grave? Full of rich mines, the land swarms with penniless beggars; covered with vines and flocks, the olive, sugar-cane, and banana springing almost spontaneously, the people yet starve, the most fertile districts raising not enough for their own subsistence; teeming with a population temperate, persevering, honest, and brave, her colonies have one after another dropt off like unripe fruit from a withered stem; her territory has been pared away piece by piece; and it only needs some more greedy conqueror to take

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from her the shrivelled core itself. From the loftiest of European nations she has sunk to the lowest. Her immense sierras are almost wildernesses; her noble rivers are choked with every obstruction which accident may bring; hardly one twelfth of the land is subjected to the plough. Marked out by nature for an unrivalled commerce, look we for a moment at the grand naval arsenal of Spain.

"Sadness came upon me as soon as I entered the place. Grass was growing in the streets, and misery and despair stared me in the face on every side. Ferrol is no longer thronged with those thousand shipwrights, who prepared for sea the tremendous three deckers and long frigates, the greater part of which were destroyed at Trafalgar. Only a few ill paid and half starved workmen still linger about, scarcely sufficient to repair any guarda costa, which may put in dismantled by the fire of some English smuggling schooner from Gibraltar. Half the inhabitants of Ferrol beg their bread. The misery and degradation of modern Spain are nowhere so strikingly manifested as at Ferrol." — p. 137.

Nor, is this peculiar to one form of industry. Near Finisterre, passing through a miserable hamlet of half a dozen heaps of ruins, still used as huts, Mr. Borrow asked, what village it was? "Village, sir! replied a woman, this is a city; this is Duyo." And it was once a city of note. The province of Andalusia, by nature fertile and rich, under a glorious sun and a benignant heaven, now lies for the most part uncultivated, producing nothing but thorns and brushwood; an emblem of the state.

And what is the cause of this downfall? When the great Charles conferred upon his son Philip, in the state-hall of Brussels, the empire of which he fancied himself weary, when he told his deeds of arms and numbered his vast territories, when his kingdom was full of wealth and its name a terror to the world, when its army was the best disciplined, and its navy the largest anywhere known, he little thought that for three centuries that glory would be departing from the eyes of the world. The self-same Philip, whom he so magnificently endowed, with all his craft, energy, wealth, power, made his throne totter beneath him. That course of commercial restriction and interference with internal industry was commenced then, under the auspices of a bigoted priesthood, which has continued to this very hour, and eaten out the very sinews of the land. With all the bravery of the East and the riches of

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the West, religious bigotry could not prosper. Gem after gem fell from the crown; degradation after degradation followed. We find it stated, that, as early as 1535, Spaniards were prohibited from working their own mines, because those of America were sufficient. This is the first fruits of that spirit of interference, which only rests with utter ruin. The bigotry of Philip banished the Moors, persecuted the Jews, drove away the Lutherans, compelled the Dutch to revolt, did everything as the agent of the church to precipitate his people's ruin.

The mines which he had closed remain for the most part shut up to this day. The manufactures, from which a selfish and sectarian policy had banished the Moors, were encouraged and intoxicated by the stimulus of a high tariff, until they seem to have been nearly killed by kindness. The Bourbons, who, upon their return, having learned nothing by experience, laid duties on many articles amounting to prohibition, only succeeded in raising the price and diminishing the quality and quantity of the factory-goods. When at last this hot-bed process could go no farther, manufactures sunk into their present lethargy. In no one article is enough furnished for home consumption; and in some cases, the raw material is sent abroad to be manufactured, and then brought back ready for use.

With a better opportunity for the carrying trade than any other nation, so situated that the golden showers of commerce would seem to fall of necessity into her bosom, everything like a commercial navy has ceased to be. "A few casks of wine, with a few barrels of grapes, are the residuary legatees of her commerce."

The industry of Spain is the lowest possible. Though in Catalan, Biscayan, and Gallego, where the restraint of government is less felt, the people are laborious; yet, as the government can only raise by taxation the half of its current expenses, the laborer is necessarily ground to the dust by taxation. The more he has the worse he is. The gypsies for instance suffering little; while the successful farmer is robbed of everything he raises.

Nor is it merely through the government that the Romish priesthood have proved a curse to Spain. It is true the government has trodden the life out of the prostrate limbs of a famous people. It is true they have committed every mistake, and rushed blindfold into every ruinous measure. But,

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why have the people at large lain still to be ruined? How has the peasant, the mechanic, the merchant folded his hands, and let the wrong pass unresisted, unremedied?

This question reaches the depths of the difficulty. The degradation of the Spaniard has been going on year by year for centuries; his own fall has been contemporaneous with the fall of his proud land. One thing after another has occurred to debilitate his character and crush his heart; and, no angel has yet come to him in his darkness, to bid him, "arise and walk." He has seemed left of Heaven to his fate. The vast wealth pouring in from the mines of the New World poisoned the public veins. Pride of the worst kind was its first offspring, then luxury with its brood of vices, then, in connexion with oppressive commercial restrictions, the most hopeless indolence.

And who shall say, their religion has not hastened this fall, and secured every downward step against the possibility of return? Not only banishing the rival labor of heretics, not only weeding out some of the most active minds with its Inquisition, but, by its innumerable holy-days, its vast indulgencies, its intellectual stupidity, its stationary atmosphere, if not by the vices of its clergy, giving a deadly blow to the Spanish mind. The utter ignorance in which the clergy find it for their interest to retain the people, the gross superstitions, which attend such a grown-up childhood, go very far of themselves to explain the Spanish supineness under oppression; and particularly point to the cause of that hatred of the English, which, in the midst of such costly benefactions, appears so strange.

It may be the purpose of Providence to revive this dying plant, by reversing the process of its decay. Mr. Borrow proves abundantly that the Pope's chief treasure-house is now lost to him forever; that the people are not papists any longer in reality; that the anti-priestly party is altogether the most numerous and growing; that the monks are rapidly decreasing; and that, amongst the commonalty everywhere, blind devotion to the church is turning to vehement hatred; the "exclusive bigotry," which once characterized them, now lingering only among the higher ranks. This very enterprise of his, so Quixotic in appearance, so perilous in execution, so imperfect in result, may be part of the appointed instrumentality for reviving the land of Cervantes and Lope de Vega, Calderon and Mariana, and restoring it to its place among the nations of

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the earth. The poverty of the people may be their desert-pilgrimage to a land of promise; their sad, civil wars the preparation for a latter day of peace, and rest, and glory. Though the sword, the scaffold, exile, and the dungeon have done their work with some of the noblest and freest minds, we cannot doubt there are true souls waiting but a word to call them forth; we cannot but hope even for oppressed, benighted, ruined, hopeless Spain.

F. W. H.

THE EARLY LITERARY HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.

NO. II.

THE AUTHORSHIP, USE, AND PRESERVATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Our second division of the documentary history of Christianity, is, the authorship, publication, use, and preservation of the New Testament records. As already observed, it is a perfectly supposable case, that our religion might have been transmitted to us without any records — at least without records written by its first teachers. When, however, such records are once made, they immediately stand upon the same footing with all other documents. The circumstance of their being written by inspired men may affect their style, their language, their narratives, and their original authority, but it will not secure them from the chances and accidents to which all documents are subject; it will not prevent the pen from committing verbal errors in the transcription, nor keep the ink from fading, nor preserve an ill-treated manuscript, — nor guard the types in a printing office against all mistakes. Sacred records, being once left behind by their authors, share the lot of other records; they are called books, and are treated like books, — they have a history, — they require explanation, — they involve critical inquiries.

Again, if a religion is transmitted in records, it is evident that those records will be appealed to and searched for the best information concerning the religion. Whatever oral tradition, —

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or existing monuments, or prevalent institutions, or general literature may assert, or prove concerning the religion, we shall look to its own earliest and most authoritative documents for our original knowledge and our main evidence. To this both believers and unbelievers are bound. The believer must vindicate his religion by its documents, the unbeliever, in denying the religion, must account for and explain the documents. When Christianity has been attacked on the ground of defects in its literary history, unbelievers have made the equally bold and false assertion, that the Gospels were not heard of or known to exist till a century after the death of the last of the apostles, and they think that by making this assertion they have exploded the religion. They certainly make a very easy estimate of the work which they have before them — for the task still remains for them, to account for the existence and origin of the records, for the stupendous falsehoods charged by them upon books, the purpose of which is to teach honesty, and for the deception which, they allege, has been practised upon believers and martyrs, upon travellers and scholars, for more than sixty generations.

There is one argument for the authority of those Scriptures and for the truth of their contents, which people in general cannot feel in its full force, unless they are familiar with classical and antiquarian studies. This argument is based upon the infinite superiority of those writings to the age in which they were produced. The pens which wrote them, the parchment upon which they were inscribed, were never put to such uses before. Regarding the piety, the spirituality, the intense and all-absorbing devotion of their writers, which they vindicate beyond all cavil, it would appear that a communication from heaven to the soul of man is the simplest solution which we can discover for the appearance of those records among the orations, plays, poems, and letters of classic authors. Who wrote them? Somebody did! For no one will presume that they dropped all written from the skies. And if somebody wrote them, who was it? We know the classic authors of those days. They do not pretend to have composed the New Testament. Here then are writings which urge us to discover their authors. Merely as a literary problem it is worthy any man's study. And when we reflect that that volume, when put upon the shelves of a library among all the other books which existed at its first appearance, seems like a pure and white-robed angel,

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lovely and meek and wise as if just from the gates of Paradise, in company of the foul and deep-stained and half-sighted men, who have never left the earth, we feel a willingness in our minds, yes, even a desire in our hearts, to make the truth our guide, and to be the willing disciples of all that truth can teach. Here then is both a task and a pleasure before us. The task is to search out the authors of the New Testament. The pleasure is to seek for the truth by the light of the truth.

If a religion is to any degree entrusted by its first teachers to documents, to histories and letters, it is important that they should be short, simple, various in their character, and above all that they should admit of being authenticated by the intelligent to the less informed. They should be short, simple, and various in their character to adapt them to the common uses of life, to the common means of the majority of readers, to the facility of perusal, study, and obedience. They should be genuine and authentic, that the religion may have about it nothing fabulous, that they may possess the original authority of the first teachers, that they should admit of being traced to the first generation of believers, and of being proved to be the works of those individuals whose names they bear.

Here then we are presented with the points which demand our attention in the study of the testimony to the New Testament records. We wish to satisfy ourselves that they come from the earliest age, that they were essentially the same then as they are now, and were severally written by the authors whose names they bear. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, Peter, Paul, James, and Jude, are their alleged authors; the records then must be traced to their lifetime, and if we satisfy ourselves that they wrote anything, we must next inquire if we have essentially the same writings as theirs.

We feel concerned to establish these points, and in reflecting upon the task the first thought which presents itself to our notice is, that others before us have felt the same interest in it. We are not alone in this inquiry. This book, the New Testament, small as it is, has attracted more of the earnest and sincere regard of sixty generations of the most civilized and intelligent people on the earth, than any object that exists on the globe. And this first thought which leads us to look back with respect upon the millions who have shared our interest, leads us to the first argument in favor of those very points which we most wish to establish. Our predecessors have admitted

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them as proved. Each step that we may take backwards introduces us to convictions more and more clear, till we come to that generation, which, among all its believers and its doubters, did not comprise one man who denied the author or his record, any more than among the political contests of the present day, the debates of party leaders are denied to their respective authors. An inquirer is often told that if he would examine any subject with impartiality, he should approach it as if no one before him had engaged in the same work. The advice would still be bad, even if it were not impracticable. This subject, at least, we should examine with the clear recognition that millions have examined it before us.

What an immense amount of evidence is necessarily presupposed in the existence of these records and the estimation in which they are held. To overthrow all this, would require the reversion of the process by which it has been built up. The accumulations of long ages must be removed to lay bare the foundation upon which the first convictions were based. We may imagine the nature and labor of the task, if one should undertake to destroy all the documentary evidence to Christianity which now exists; such as sermons, dictionaries, commentaries, controversies, ecclesiastical records, biographies, last wills, charters, maps, pictures, and monuments. Such is the task neither lighter nor less comprehensive, which he has to perform, who would bring in question the authorship and integrity of the New Testament records. Atheists have found a difficulty in admitting that the world was made out of nothing, but they have found no difficulty in asserting that not only the Testament but also the long continued and sincere reverence for it were made out of nothing. Such then is the assistance which we have from those who have gone before us in the same inquiry. They felt an equal interest in it — they lived in periods which, as we look backwards, admitted them nearer and nearer to original evidence. They satisfied themselves, and in that result, they laid the foundation for the first argument in aid of the faith of those who should succeed them.

And we should all admit the force of this argument readily and gladly, were it not for that common spirit of skepticism which attacks sacred things, as if no evidence whatever, which is overwhelming on all other subjects, could possibly avail here. This is no more reasonable than if we should say that a church could not resist time and weather, and shelter its worshippers,

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unless it were built of materials different from those used in the construction of dwelling houses. There is one simple remedy for this universal skepticism; it is that we rebuke ourselves for it, just as we rebuke others who doubt what we believe or know. When a forward or obstinate child presumes to doubt what we admit with the whole world as true and unquestionable, the impatience which we feel with him we ought to feel with ourselves, when in our partial knowledge we prefer to wrestle with the whole world, rather than with our own misgivings or ignorance.

Again, it might seem as if when we ask the questions whether the contents of the New Testament were written by their alleged authors, and are read by us as first written, we should find some aid towards answering them, in the books themselves. It would seem as if their own testimony, when we know nothing against it, should be worth something. The writers of the books tell us that the religion was new to them, at first unintelligible and unwelcome; it snapped their dearest and closest ties, it heaped upon them mortifications and troubles. They did not invent the religion; for they did not understand it when offered to them. They name each other, and if one has deceived, all have deceived. The writers combined into a most iniquitous league, based on falsehood and bringing sufferings on themselves, for the sake of teaching honesty to the world and making men happy. If they were true men, their own evidence is valuable, — if they were impostors we must prove them so, before we call them so. We have given these hints to indicate what a skeptic must do to disprove the authorship and purity of the records of the New Testament. Let us now inquire what we must do to prove those points. First, then, we are to trace the contents of the New Testament to the natural lifetime of the first teachers of Christianity. Taking the year 1 as the date of the Saviour's birth, and the year 33 as that of his death, we start at this latter period, and begin to search for writings, guiding ourselves at first by good reason as to the time, occasion, and purpose of the first records. It is evident that as long as all the Christian converts were within reach of the voices of Apostles and authorized preachers, the converts would prefer, both from habit and advantage, to hear them, rather than to read their writings. During the lifetime and active labors of the first Christian preachers, while their converts were neither numerous nor widely scattered, we can

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see but one occasion which would call for their committing anything to writing. If an apostle had visited a city or a village, and had there established a company of believers, when his duty called him to another region, he could not but carry with him an interest in those whom he left. They were as yet feeble, partially instructed, and subject to backsliding and temptation. They needed comfort, sympathy, and counsel; they would look to their first teacher in a neighboring or a distant city to watch over them, to continue a kind interest in them, and if he could not visit them again, to transmit his encouragement and his advice, either by a messenger, in the shape of a zealous believer, or by a letter of comfort and instruction. When opportunity permitted, a short letter might be committed to a faithful messenger, with instructions to enlarge and lengthen it by kind and friendly information concerning its author. Our supposition founded in the reason of things was fulfilled in fact. The Epistles of the New Testament were written under the very circumstances which we have described — to communities of believers from absent apostles, transmitted by messengers, who in some cases filled out their contents by word of mouth. But some time would elapse after the death of the Saviour before these letters would be necessary. The first preachers, by the regulations of their own office, were obliged first to offer their religion to their own countrymen, the Jews. This obligation would confine them for some time to Judea. Strangers and visiters in that country, who might chance to hear them, would carry home the tidings of the religion, and would thus prepare the way to receive the Gospel in their own cities. Slowly, and with great opposition from their own prejudices, did the horizon of the apostles enlarge, and extend itself from the privileged people of the Jews, till it comprehended the Gentiles. Allowing time therefore for this continued preaching in Judea, for the travelling from place to place, the formation of communities of believers, and their subsequent encouragement by letters addressed to them from a distance, our own calculations would naturally bring us to the same dates as are indicated in the Epistles of Paul, viz. from and after the year 57. So might we say of the other Epistles. They would be highly valued, copied, and transmitted from one church to another, and after the death of the authors they would be reverenced. When circumstances led the Christians to collect together the writings of the Apostles, each company of believers

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could attest its own letter. So much for the origin and dates of the Epistles contained in the New Testament.

The Book of the Acts of the Apostles, written by Luke, refers to a former treatise, the Gospel. The Acts of the Apostles closes with the relation of Paul as residing at Rome, which time is defined by a comparison of many particulars, to have been as late as the year 63. This book is a narrative of the first labors, a sketch of the first journies of the apostles, particularly of Paul. It follows and describes his labors at the very time when he was writing his Epistles. In this coincidence we are furnished with a most remarkable test for trying the integrity of the Acts and the Epistles, by their several contents, as, though written by different hands, they describe the same scenes, circumstances, and characters. Upon the comparison of these documents, Paley has built up one of the proudest and most indisputable arguments for the authorship and credibility of the Epistles of Paul. The argument is to this effect. Suppose a traveller in the various experiences of his journies, in his troubles, anxieties, good or bad reception, writes a series of letters to friends in many different places, describing to one his companions, to another the dangers through which he has passed, to another the condition, health, or happiness of one whom he had just visited or written to. Suppose that while the traveller himself was thus marking his journey, with these constant memorials of his progress and experiences, one who accompanied him at some times, and was informed of his motions at others, and visited the same places which he had just left, had likewise made a record of occurrences. We know that these documents would mutually illustrate each other, and that the best possible means, which we could have for verifying them, would be in comparing them together. The case supposed is precisely that which is realized in the Epistles, written by Peter and Paul, and the narrative of their labors by Luke. The testimony, which a comparison of those documents furnishes to the Christian faith, is invaluable, and it might seem irresistible.

From many details in the Acts and Epistles themselves, we assign them dates from 57 to 63. But the writer of Acts, which book we date in 63, refers to a former treatise written by him, and in that former treatise he speaks of other writers who have undertaken to set forth an account of the same transactions. The Gospel of Luke, with those of Matthew and Mark, we date about the year 60. That by John, for

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reasons hereafter to be mentioned, we assign to a later time. The first three Gospels would likewise reasonably have been required for the use of converts, when they had become numerous, when the preachers were obliged to perform their mission over a large extent of country, or when enfeebled by age, they could not look for much more time for active toil. We conclude then that nearly thirty years had elapsed after the death of Christ, before the publication of either of the Gospels. Any time during their natural lives would be soon enough for this preparation of records. It is evident, too, from the Gospels themselves, that some time must have passed, during which the hearts and minds of the Apostles were preparing to comprehend their work, before they wrote the memoirs which we read. They show in them a superiority to the prejudices under which they labored, when their Master lived. They evidently understand the meaning of the words as referring to the admission of the Gentiles to Christian privileges when they write, "God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham," — "preach the Gospel to every creature." That some time elapsed before they wrote, may likewise be inferred from the remark, "that field is called the field of blood to this day." On the other hand, we cannot suppose the first three Gospels were written at a later period than the year 70, for this was the date of the destruction of Jerusalem, and everything in those Gospels indicates that though that event was predicted, it had not come to pass. Relying upon the integrity of the writers, we assert that if the event had occurred, they could not have omitted all mention of it. If anything connected with the first preaching of Christianity is founded in fact, then is it beyond all question that the Evangelists were honest men. They could not be guilty of meanness, subterfuge, and falsehood, they could not by adroit and cunning artifice have avoided all mention of the fulfilment of what they record as predicted. That universal skepticism to which we have referred will imagine anything, in order to evade what it is unwilling to believe. In doubting the alleged authorship of the first three Gospels, and in ascribing them to other writers and a later time, the unbeliever must charge upon them deception and falsehood. For ourselves we would positively refuse, and if we had any influence with others, we would urge them to refuse, to hold any argument with an unbeliever, who should deny the *honesty* of the first teachers of Christianity, —

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the men who passed through fire to teach integrity. If they were honest, they were candid, artless, and disingenuous writers. If Jerusalem had been destroyed when they wrote, as honest men they would have said so, and even if dishonest men, one or another of the writers would have dropped some hint to that effect unguardedly. But everything in their narratives indicates the standing of the city, the regular service of the Temple, the quiet of peace, not the misery of a siege, or the havoc of war. In recording the prediction of the desolation, the warning is added, "Let him that readeth understand," and there are many other expressions which would not have been used, if the plough had passed over the city.

From our best historical information we are justified in concluding, that St. John saw the other three Gospels, before he composed his own, which he intended as a supplement, and that he likewise wrote before the destruction of Jerusalem. He says, "there is at Jerusalem, by the sheep market, a pool having five porches," thus indicating the standing of the city. History likewise assures us, that he was younger than his Master, that he outlived all the Apostles, that his Revelation was written about the year 98, that he died after the year 100, and that his Epistles were written between his two larger works. We have on these points such evidence as always satisfies us on other points. The materials, which will build good dwelling houses, will build good churches.

Thus history and facts agree with our own best judgment in assuring us, that after the year 60, and before the year 100, that is, within 67 years after the death of Christ, the contents of the New Testament were written by the first teachers of Christianity. If there was reason for their being written at all, those who first received them, with at least equal interest in the matter as our own, would take care to assure themselves that they were not imposed upon. The Gospel of Matthew was written for the Hebrews, in their own language, and soon translated into Greek; the rest of the New Testament was written in Greek; and the different parts of the volume were composed in various places, such as Judea, Rome, Greece Ephesus, Corinth, Macedonia, and Patmos.

Now it is important for us to look attentively at the nature and reason of things, in order to instruct ourselves beforehand, as to the kind of testimony for the existence and estimation of those records, which we may expect to find, in the subsequent

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writings of the Christians. Our own good judgment must always be enlisted upon the side of our faith and our religion. When an author now intends to publish a volume, he bargains with publisher and printer, he reads portions of his manuscript to friends, — one of whom announces it here and there with his tongue, while another prepares the way for it by notices in the newspapers, and a third reads over the sheets as they pass through the press, in order that he may have an early criticism upon it in the review which shall next follow it. When at last it is printed, it may be found in a dozen different places, where likewise may be found other books on the same subject. This is the case now, but it was not the case eighteen centuries ago. There can be no question now about an author, unless he conceals his name. Or take a different case. One hundred and fifty years after the death of Milton, there was found in the State Paper Office, London, a Treatise on Christian Doctrine, in manuscript. No other works of the author referred to it, — of course no quotations could have been made from it in other books within that period, — and no one was living who could say that he wrote it. Still there was not the slightest difficulty in proving him to be the author. Now as to the authorship and publication of the New Testament records, if we had whole libraries of books written at the same time, we could not expect to find in half of them a mention of the new writings. For, in the first place, by their original purpose the different documents were scattered over a great extent of of country. They were designed for different communities. Those who cherished one document might not know of the existence of another. Much time must necessarily have elapsed, before they could be brought within the reach of any one man. Again, as long as the writers lived, their works would be thought of less than themselves. All who could see or hear the men, would esteem this a higher privilege, than to read some parts of their histories or opinions. Once more, the privilege of hearing those to whom the Apostles committed their doctrine, information, and office, their successors in the ministry of the first generation, would be considered fully equal to that of reading a brief narrative, which might be gone through in the space of one or two hours. It would be more natural likewise, that the Christians should refer at first more to what this Apostle or his friend and disciple said or did, than to what they wrote. These first Christians would take the written record, and preserve it with reverence for their

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children; but for themselves they would cherish most the memory of what they had seen and heard. It would be for their children to study, quote, and transcribe the written record.

Allowing these considerations and others, which might be mentioned, to decide what we are to expect to find in Christian testimony to the Scriptures, we should reason as follows. Allowing all the records to have been distributed to their several destinations by the year 100, we should expect to find some notices of them, within a quarter of a century from those who had seen the Apostles, or been taught by their immediate successors. Such notices we should expect to find increasing in length and number as time advanced, till by the close of one more century we should expect to find abundant evidence of the diffusion of the records, and of their being regarded with universal and unexceptionable reverence. These expectations are fully answered by facts to be found in books and records, which carry us up to the very age of the Apostles. We have space to give only a brief sketch of this testimony. For the sake of brevity, we will make quotations with reference only to the Four Gospels, and but very few of these, leaving without mention a host of Christian writers.

Papias was Bishop of Hierapolis, A. D. 116; he is supposed to have been acquainted with St. John, and he says, he was acquainted with many of the disciples of the Apostles; he wrote a treatise entitled Explications of the Oracles of the Lord, in which he says, "Matthew wrote the Divine Oracles in the Hebrew tongue, and every one interpreted them as he was able." He says, the Presbyter John told him, "that Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, carefully wrote down all that he retained in memory of the actions or discourses of Christ." These are just such notices as we should expect at so early a period.

Justin Martyr was born of Gentile parents in Samaria, and converted to Christianity. At Rome, in the year 150, he addressed a Defence of Christianity to the Emperor Antoninus Pius; he afterwards had a controversy with a Jew, or wrote a book in that form, and in the year 162 made another defence of Christianity addressed to Marcus Antoninus. An account of the Life and Doctrines of Christ might be made from his first Defence. He speaks of the Memoirs composed by the Apostles, which are called Gospels. He quotes passages in great profusion from all the Gospels, and in mentioning

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the Memoirs, he distinguishes between those written by the Apostles, and by the companions of Apostles, that is, between Matthew and John, and Mark and Luke. He tells us how these sacred books were read in the assemblies of Christians on the Lord's day, and how reverently they were regarded by Christians. All this before the year 150. And let us remember that this is not merely the testimony of one man. He expresses the sentiments of his age and brethren, the well assured belief of all the Christians that then existed. There was no controversy or question about the records then. Not a single voice rises up to contradict them. And if Justin writes at the year 150, he is good evidence for a length of time before that date. In the year 168, Theophilus was Bishop of Antioch; all that remains of his writings is an account and defence of Christianity, addressed to a heathen, in which are the following passages. "Concerning the righteousness of which the Law speaks, the like things are to be found also in the Prophets and Gospels; because that all spoke by the inspiration of one and the same spirit of God."

These things the Holy Scriptures teach us, and all who were moved by the spirit, among whom John says, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God." After quoting from Proverbs a precept of charity, he adds, "But the Evangelic voice teaches purity yet more imperatively," — quoting Matthew, v. 28, 32. Here then we find a most familiar use of the New Testament, within less than seventy years after it had been completed by the pens of its writers. The documents scattered abroad by them are referred to, as if a heathen ought by that time to have known something concerning them.

From Asia we may come to the very centre of Gaul, now called France. There we find Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, in 178. He was educated by Polycarp, a disciple of John, and heard from the very lips of his teacher the history given by the mouth of the Apostle. Writing against the heretics, he says, "We have not received the knowledge of the way of our salvation by any others, than those, through whom the Gospel has come down to us; which Gospel they first preached, and afterwards by the will of God transmitted to us in writing, that it might be the foundation and pillar of our faith." "For after our Lord had risen from the dead, and the Apostles, clothed with the power of the Holy Spirit descending upon

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them from on high, were filled with all gifts and possessed perfect knowledge, they went forth to the ends of the earth, spreading the glad tidings of those blessings which God has conferred upon us, and announcing peace from heaven to men; having all and every one alike the Gospel of God. Matthew, then among the Hebrews, published a Gospel in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome, and founding a church there. And after their departure (or death) Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself delivered to us in writing what Peter had preached, and Luke, the companion of Paul, recorded the Gospel preached by him. Afterwards John, the disciple of the Lord who leaned upon his breast, likewise published a Gospel while he dwelt at Ephesus, in Asia," &c. Here the Gospels are expressly alleged in the face of heresy as the sole foundation, sure and honored, for the Christian faith. Several more remarkable passages might be quoted from the same writer. We will select from two more writers, not to amplify the testimony, but to draw it from different parts of the world as then known.

Tertullian of Carthage, in Africa, was the first and most eloquent of the Latin Fathers. He was distinguished before the year 200. No modern works on Divinity afford more full and explicit testimony to the Scriptures of the New Testament than his. He quotes from every part of Matthew, Luke, and John; he speaks of their being publicly read in worship; and boldly refers the heathen to them as ready for their search. Once more, pass to Alexandria, in Egypt, where Clement the Bishop died before the year 220, and wrote those works of his, which we have, before the year 200. His testimony to the New Testament writings is most explicit; his quotations from it are now appealed to in reference to disputed texts. He says of certain words which a heretic had ascribed to Christ, "In the first place, we have not that saying in the Four Gospels which have been handed down to us." "Handed down," that is the expression. And the very fact, that he makes to them the last appeal, is proof conclusive of the reverent estimation in which they were held. It would be useless for us to bring down this line of argument any farther, for it would be as if we were to go into an immense library of Sermons and Tracts, and undertake to prove by the texts they contain, that their authors reverenced the New Testament. After the dates from which

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we have quoted, references to the New Testament might be drawn out in an unending chain. It will be perceived that regarding the different purposes designed by the different writers of the sacred records, the fact that these records were widely scattered in various directions, as they were addressed, the continuance of verbal information concerning the Apostles, we said regarding these and many more particulars, it would appear that time was necessary to bring the Scriptures into such notice, as to admit of their being familiarly referred to. We observe likewise, that in these quotations from, and references to them, one generation blends its own testimony with that of another generation. He who, in the year 116, speaks of the Gospels as read and held in high honor, of course speaks what he had been taught by his father or teacher, and thus carries us back to the generation before his own. We have endeavored to concentrate the force of this testimony upon the year 150, a period too early for any fraud to have been then practised, and sufficiently near to the time of the Apostles to satisfy every mind, as to the validity of the authority then attributed to the New Testament records. At the year 175, when the aged men might have remembered apostolical times, and when those in later life might have owed their Christian education to the disciples and Apostles, we find the Gospels and Epistles treated with the most sacred reverence, referred to as the bulwarks of the faith, quoted as a final appeal, and enforced upon coming generations with the most solemn counsels of the original believers. Whence came this reverence, this confidence in the records, this willingness to appeal and to allow an appeal to them, this transmitted solemnity of the trust? It came not from supposition or mere belief of their authority, but from a knowledge of it, a clear demonstration of their apostolic origin, which never was questioned by heretic or infidel, till the Christian church had faced the storms of more than a thousand years.

The other question which we proposed to ourselves was, as to the genuineness of those records, that is, whether we have, unaltered, the very writings which we know were received so heartily and universally. Does the New Testament, as we read it, contain essentially, without adulteration, addition, or loss, the very productions of the sacred writers? We may find in the arguments, which we have just pursued, the main evidence to satisfy us on this further question. The unbeliever or doubter

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will say, admitting that this long chain of authors, reaching to the very lifetime of the Evangelists and Apostles, does quote with reverence their writings, how do we know that those writings have not been grossly corrupted during the ignorance, the havoc, and the heresies of long time? Christian ministers and writers have often shown not too much earnestness, but too much anxiety on this point. If a bold and presuming skeptic tells us, that we can have no certainty, whether we read the Gospels and Epistles as they were written, we shall not distress ourselves, because he uses his tongue to make an unsupported assertion. He may make the assertion if he pleases, but after he has made it he must prove it, and it will be time enough for us to entertain it when he advances some proof of it. For completeness sake, however, we may just mention the arguments, which we have laid up for defence.

We have seen, that in the year 175, or to take an even date, in the year 200, we have full and explicit testimony of the existence of the Christian Scriptures, of their familiar quotation, and of the solemn, not to say superstitious reverence, with which they were regarded. There are known to exist now about 670 manuscript copies of the whole, or portions of the New Testament, in the original Greek, found in different parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe. There are also manuscripts of early translations of those Scriptures from Greek, into eleven other languages. Besides, there are scattered over the commentaries, homilies, expositions, and other works of early Christian writers, such abundant and repeated quotations from the New Testament, that if we only knew the order in which to place them, we might make a New Testament from those works. From these Greek manuscripts, these translated manuscripts, and these quotations in other works, we draw some thousand of repetitions of each sentence in the New Testament. In comparing these together, we detect variations between a few words, and a few letters. These trivial and unimportant errors, which are rectified by comparison, originated in three ways; from slips of the pen in writing, from erroneous translations of one word by another, and from a quotation having been made from memory, instead of from a reference to the text. Now before the contents of the New Testament had been published a hundred years, errors of this kind attracted notice, and we find them spoken of, and censured. So great was the reverence for the records, that even these slight mistakes were deplored. Can we

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you that wilful errors would have been permitted? Just as at the present time, there is scarcely a copy of the Bible free from errors of the press, or of translation, while a wilful corruption of it would be absolutely impossible. Now we say, that this reverence universally attached to the Christian Scriptures, at the very first mention which we find of them, was given to those Scriptures because they were believed to be the works of inspired men. Their purity and authority, which made them to be reverenced, would guard their purity from corruption, and secure their authority from being lessened. Would our fathers have mutilated the Christian Scriptures? No! Would their fathers? No, nor theirs, nor the tenth nor the twentieth generation before them. Why should we think that we are more anxious about the integrity of those records, than the very men to whom we refer as first honoring and cherishing them more than their lives?

Would they with one hand write their testimony to the Scriptures, and with the other falsify them? Would they march to the stake to attest their devotion, and after having just corrupted the pillar and foundation of their children's trust? The supposition is monstrous. It is not for one instant to be imagined that those, who from the year 100 to 200 first attest those Scriptures, were at the same time corrupting them. And if they did not corrupt them, who did? In the first place, who would corrupt them? Who could cherish the purpose of going over the earth and buying up those manuscripts to tamper with them, or take his own copy and mutilate it? Surely no believer would do this. There was no object which he could gain by it. It would have been a most thankless task. Perhaps it may be said the heretic or the infidel would have been willing to do it. Perhaps so; but could they have done it? We ask a second question — Who could have corrupted the Scriptures of the New Testament? All those manuscripts, translations, and quotations, to which we have referred, are essentially the same, therefore they must have come from the same originals. We account for this agreement by the integrity of the early Christians, who, though divided by land, by language, and by controversies, all reverenced the Scriptures. Now if you say that any one could corrupt those records, you must show that he could have done so before the year 200; for after that date it was manifestly impossible to introduce such corruptions as would appear in all the copies. But at the year

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200, the only time when such a general corruption could have been made, there were by the lowest computation of known facts, three millions of Christians in the Roman Empire alone. Allowing one copy of the Scriptures to every one hundred Christians, there would have been 30,000 copies to have been corrupted in the very faces of their owners.

No records of ancient times can produce such overwhelming evidence for their authorship and integrity as the New Testament Scriptures.

G. E. E.

CLERICAL ECONOMICS.

Two pleasant little volumes have lately fallen into our hands, of which we will give some account. They relate to what we may term the economics of the clergyman's life — to the lesser matters of the law; lesser, however, only in the theological sense; greater in every other. For who will be so much a spiritualist as to deny that the body needs to be fed, and clothed, and sheltered, first of all; that learning, preaching, philosophizing, and even every form of neologism, must be held inferior to the necessities which subject us to the dinner and breakfast table, and the labor which brings the money that covers them with wholesome food. Man is primarily a body, a feeding animal; in quite a secondary sense a thinking, reading, and printing animal; and unless the first class of wants is well looked after, he will do little at thinking, reading, or printing. Yet, though these truths are so very elementary, they are but imperfectly considered, and many clergymen are seen to attend with very little intelligence and thrift, to the duties they imply. It may be very true that where the minister has failed to prosper in his temporalities, it has been because he has devoted himself too exclusively to the spiritualities; he has studied hard and preached well, but has died in poverty, and left behind him a dependent family; he has written sermons by the thousand, has visited faithfully his flock, forgotten neither his Greek nor his Latin, and added German or Chinese, but has

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never been able to make both ends of the year meet; has never paid a bill when it was due, and in a word, has never been out from 'under the harrow.' This self-sacrifice, as some will call it, is very commendable and virtuous, no doubt. Seriously, we give all honor to those, who, if one class of duties is to be neglected and forborne, if to attend to more than one be an absolute impracticability, choose that which concerns the welfare of others the most, their own the least — are willing to go half-clad, or half-fed, to relinquish all the little luxuries and indulgences of life, rather than starve their minds for want of books; and unwilling to give their people poor sermons, old or new, because they must needs be abroad in the meadows, with hoe or scythe, that neither the dairy, nor the hay-loft, nor the vegetable bins, nor the pork-barrel may fail of their abundance, whatever else may fail. But what we should be inclined to doubt or deny is, the necessary divorce between the classes of duties in question. We cannot believe that there is any incompatibility between a well appointed, orderly, thriving household, an abundance of the good things of this world, — taking our ministers' salaries as they rise, — and a faithful discharge of the public functions of the pastor's office. It is owing, we imagine, rather to bad habits, false notions, foolish prejudices, than anything more creditable, that the humble duties of a wise domestic economy are so often foregone, that so many fail to devote the spare hours which fall to every one, especially to the country minister, to the various out-door labors which would give health to the body, and new vigor to the mind, at the same time it lengthened out the salary, and supplied larder and cellar with a larger provision, and of a better quality.

We do not mean to say that there are none who, in the best and wisest manner, to a right discharge of the sacred duties of their great office, add diligence and prudence in the affairs of the family, and manage to large profiting the garden or the farm, the poultry-yard and the pig-stye. There are not wanting among our country ministers men, who for the well arranged economy of their households, for their active industry, their power of accomplishing not only one, but many things, their early rising and late going to bed, their true piety and worldly thrift, their due mingling and proportioning of the things of heaven and earth, their Sunday preachings, their closet studies, and their garden labors, their well furnished minds, and their equally well furnished barns and houses, need not fear

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a comparison with that original genius, that truly devout man, and almost model-minister, Robert Robinson. Take them together, and we are persuaded the incumbents of the country parishes, in this part of the Union, are not only as pure and pious, but as industrious, and, according to their capital, as thrifty a body of men as can be found anywhere, either in or out of the ecclesiastical order. But all are not so. There are many who get along but in a slovenly manner, whose income never supports them, and never would though it were doubled, whose hands, if they sometimes hold a book or pen, never wield the spade or the hoe, whose gardens are not, or are wildernesses of weeds, whose outgoings are always, and incomings (save the salary) never and nothing, who see nature lying around ready to yield the richest returns for a little labor, returns that what with the garden, the pasture, the bee-house, the poultry-yard, and the pig-stye would add a quarter to their resources, and double the pleasures of life, yet never dream of accepting what she proffers, at least on the terms proposed. There are many, like these, absolutely insensible to the charms and advantages of their position, and to whom a better service could hardly be rendered than the sending, for their instruction, of a copy of the memoirs of the aforesaid Robert Robinson, in which they might see, as in a demonstration, how it is quite a possible thing to be a good householder, and at the same time a faithful steward and dispenser of the Word. The Memoirs of Robinson is, unfortunately, a book not to be had. But any book that revealed all the mysteries of the prudent management and successful cultivation of a small estate, and which, in an attractive style, — a book that for gardening, and its associated cares, should be what Walton's angler is for fishing, — should describe the methods, the pleasures, and the gains of the kind of life we are commending, would be a very valuable addition to a minister's library. The requisite information of every kind lies, indeed, scattered through many volumes; but we know not where to find it consolidated into a single treatise, adding to its science the charms of style, and a genuine enthusiasm for rural life, so as to constitute the Classic which we need. Does no one of our parishes furnish the poet-minister, the minister-poet, for a poet he should be, who can make such a book? He must be a practical man, or the work will want the interest that derives from the recounting of personal experiences; he must be a man of science, or it will want authority

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and dignity; he must be a man of a devout mind, or the golden thread will not be present to bind the whole together; and a poet too, or the style will lack the graces of language and thought a poet's imagination alone can supply, and without which it will fail to win its way into that poet's-corner of the heart, where all good things make, not their burial place, but their home.

Why should not the World-life of the minister have its special Hand-book, as well as his Pulpit-life? For this last, the volumes are hardly to be counted that have been written; not one of them, however, that we have ever seen, possesses either the genius or the charms such a work is susceptible of, and quite deserves to be adorned with. Claude, with his fine-spun, tedious minuteness, notwithstanding his valuable thought in the text, and the occasional entertainment of the notes, is hardly a readable book. Burnet, wise and solid, is not absolutely seductive. Ostervald, Gerard, in his "Pastoral Care," and our own Dr. Miller, — they are all excellent in their way, abounding in judicious and needed instruction, but there is not one that fills out the idea the mind readily forms, of a treatise such as the subject deserves. The quaint Eachard alone is read at a sitting; but though strong and witty he is coarse, and quite destitute of the tenderness and simple-hearted piety that should pervade such a work, not to add that his temperament is anything but the poetic. But such as they are, they abound, and some of the best minds in the church, and in every denomination, have tried their powers in their composition. They have undoubtedly been of great service, especially to the young divine, when he first assumes the heavy burden of his profession; they have lightened his burden, guided his steps, warned him of dangers, and, we may believe, saved many from shipwreck. But the minister's life, as a *man*, is not without its difficulties, and needs, also, its directory. In many respects, it is true, his difficulties and duties are such as are common to others, but in many, also, peculiar, and require a peculiar treatment. At least, whether peculiar or not, he, from his position otherwise, engages in the employments and cares which are extra-professional at a great disadvantage, and the wisdom which a wider mingling with the world gives to the man of the world, and which can be most perfectly obtained through such intercourse, can be obtained only measurably in the same way by the clergyman, and books alone, but imperfectly still, can supply the deficiency.

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The books before us aim to supply the want to which we allude. The first is entitled the "Manse Garden,"* and is the work of a Scotch clergyman of Glasgow, Nathaniel Paterson, minister of St. Andrew's Church. The author has brought to the work many of the qualifications that are so desirable, and which we have indicated. It is written in a graceful and winning style, full of pleasant turns and touches of humor, that impart a constant charm to even the dryest and most minute detail. The humblest precepts for the lowest cares in the Georgics have, we know, their poetic charm. The thing enjoined is, it may be, naught, — but the manner of the injunction reveals the mind of the poet, and taste and fancy are delighted. Virgil is in the coloring of the words, and makes it beautiful. We do not mean to say that the Manse Garden is either of the Georgics, or that Dr. Paterson is Virgil, but he has evidently written with those agricultural poems before him, and has caught not a little of their spirit. His fine manner makes us regret that he did not take a wider subject for his work. He touches no part of the minister's out-of-door life beside his occupation in the garden. The volume is strictly a garden book, of the most practical kind, containing the usual counsels to the ignorant, as to the cultivation and planting of fruits, vegetables, and flowers, which makes it the more remarkable, that so much can be said in praise of its general manner, for which a very fair scope would not seem to be afforded. But the Doctor's genius has surmounted his difficulties, and made the most and best of his subject and materials. Without a relish for the general subject, the book would still, we doubt not, be thought dry and dull; but with anything of rural tastes, with any love of nature in her secret processes, or her outward forms, her products, or her cares, it will be found instructive and deeply interesting.

We will now let the work speak for itself. The author thus writes in his preface.

"For the advancement then of a good cause, in which his brethren as well as the Author are concerned, may he not humbly hope that they will be pleased to offer and perhaps commend

* The Manse Garden, by. NATHANIEL PATERSON, D. D., Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Glasgow. "And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall." — 1 *Kings*. Fourth Thousand. Glasgow: William Collins, 7, S. Frederick Street. 1838.

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a reading of his treatise to such of their parishioners as are placed in circumstances not unlike their own? In every parish will be found one or more proprietors of a very interesting class of society, tasteful and intelligent, whose neat villas, gardens, and fields are of a rank not far remote from those of the minister, and who like him are put to their shifts for want of a thorough-bred gardener. And that there are many more who might find an interest in what he writes, may be inferred on considering how much the eye of the traveller is refreshed by the air of snugness and refinement, which a few trees and shrubs already afford to the dwelling-houses of the tenantry in those districts where agriculture is the most improved. Wherever skill has augmented (as in all reason it ought) the capital employed in farming, the effect has been a more polite education, which in its turn has produced a finer taste, manifested it may be in dress and manners and house accommodation; but more remotely, and therefore more strongly, in the out-door ornaments of roses, ivy, and fruit trees, which at once hide the deformity of naked walls and suggest the idea of comfort within them. This indication of improvement deserves both to be hailed and helped forward on its happy career; for there is more of virtue in it than would be imagined by persons less observant of the connexion that subsists between taste and morals. About doorsteps so adorned, both wife and children look far prettier than they appear when seen through broken windows mended with old hats, or met with daubled feet and awkward gait, sliding or like to slide off stepping-stones laid in mire. When home is rendered more attractive, the market-gill will be forsaken for charms more enduring, as they are also more endearing and better for both soul and body. And O what profusion of roses and ripe fruits, dry gravel and shining laurels, might be had for a thousandth part of the price given for drams, which cause at market places needless stay, and vain or silly bargains, together with the growing vice which ruins all! In proportion as drinking decays, the relish of home will revive; and in proportion as a cultivated taste makes home more cheerful, will the safety of morals be secured.

"Thus external things, in themselves so trivial as the planting of shrubs, are great when viewed in connexion with the moral feelings whence they proceed and the salutary effects which they produce. And whilst it is gratifying from recent beginnings to anticipate a further progress in such matters of taste as tend to improve the social affections, the following incident, which fell within the Author's knowledge, he begs to record, not only as pleasing in itself, but valuable as a sign of the spirit

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that is awakened. A landlord, not more illustrious for rank than generosity, conceiving that he was under obligation to one of his tenants, whether for looking after the game or other civility, asked by what favor the attention might be repaid. Instead of any grumbling as to rent or roads, enclosures or household convenience, the request, as modest as it was elegant, was only a 'bit of plantation for shelter and ornament to the dwelling.' Sure is the Author, that falling into such hands his little treatise would be hailed as quite the thing to tell how a bit of plantation may be put down to the best advantage." — pp. vi–viii.

Labor in the garden is earnestly recommended as a source of health. From his observations on this point, a good idea may be obtained of the author's manner. It is a long extract, but intrinsically valuable.

"Independently of the pleasure, let the use of your garden be considered, — the use, I mean not for your living but for your life. Your mode of life is sedentary; — you walk abroad, it is true; — but if you happen to see your face reflected from the deep black pool, as you wander by the river side, you will discover that the last theme of your studies has left its print still upon your brow, and you will infer from that index, that the solitary walk, which has set the limbs in motion, has produced no change of action in the brain, the heart, the liver, or other organs which are strongly affected by the exercise of the thinking faculties. But besides the walk taken purely for health, you have many out-of-door duties, to the performance of which you must travel no small distance; and hence you are apt to imagine that the inconveniency of a too sedentary mode of life will be sufficiently counteracted. A little attention, however, to the principles of physiology might correct this mistake. Those duties discharged amongst the distant members of your flock are all of a solemn kind, and many of them deeply affecting, — keeping the mind as intent as in the study, causing the heart and throat to swell and tears to flow, and keeping in quick vibration all those untractable cords, that serve for a correspondence between the mind and the remotest material parts of our system. This mode of overworking and wearying by only one sort of application, which is inconsistent with the health of our frame, as it is inconsistent with man's nature, soon destroys either the mind or the body; and indigestion, or bilious disorder, is frequently the first intimation that violence has been done to the laws of our constitution.

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"The great prevalence of this Protean malady amongst my clerical brethren might be attested by the illustrious practice of the late Dr. Gregory, or that of his successor, Dr. T., the hope of such despondants. With great love to my brethren, and perfect belief of a theory agreeing with nature's designs and verified by facts, I recommend the work of the garden, which effectually sets the mind upon a new train of ideas, whilst it gives salutary play to all the bodily functions. The long continued sameness of intellectual exertion, whilst health remains, too nearly resembles that lamentable state of mind, in which only one idea can be entertained, to be judged either accordant to the indications of nature or beneficial to humanity. Do you plead that you have in hand too serious and important labors for admitting of any diversion by things trivial and temporary, — your pleading is met by the analogy of material things: the ground will not bear the same kind of produce for any length of time; and art, having made the discovery, adopts a succession of crops. The natural forest is never succeeded by trees of the same species, — showing, where no art is used, that nature will not give birth to progeny for which she does not provide the resources of strength. You propose, by a contrary course, to yield always the same sort of fruit; and the consequence will be, that, wearing out yourself, your productions will in a short time become sickly and weak, and, should you not discover that deteriorated quality, you will soon lose the gratification of doing what you esteem your first duty, by losing the power of doing anything whatever. You will become bilious; and then farewell to study and all its charms, — to walks, and the music of the brook, where you pondered the same theme, — to duty and all its rewards, — to everything that soothes or delights, — the face of friend, the look of love, the soft cheek and guileless tongue of babes, — farewell to all, but horrid apathy, and pitchy gloom, and long night watching, or the dream in which you know not whether you are man or beast, wood or stone.

"If in such a condition to find deliverance you would submit to any terms, think it not hard to adopt those which, as they are easy, are able also to save from such a calamity. Have first a sense of the might and steadfastness of those laws which belong to your constitution, and which the almighty Founder of them never suffers to be broken with impunity. It is no matter on what pretence or from what cause the violation is made; ill health, disease, or death, will be the consequence. Piety seeks seclusion, and thinks it does well; but the mind becomes vapid, the frame nervous, the imagination gloomy, and the loved se-

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clusion is soon completed in the grave. Ignorance fares no better: in the merry dance, a draught of cold water is surely a harmless luxury, being the ready cure of burning heat; but the cure is followed by inflammation and sudden death. The most helpless innocence fares no better: the lovely child, in his playful way, drinks the wrong vial, and quickly dies.

"Why is this life, the dawn of an immortal existence, the all that we have in this world, and chiefly given as a preparation for eternity, so badly guarded from a thousand causes of destruction, by the non-observance of those laws which are ordained for its advantage, but of which the violation is fatal? Why does the knowledge of those laws not form a part in the elementary process of every school and seminary of learning? why should not ministers contribute to a boon so essential to the designs of their calling, and the welfare of all men? and why should they, in all other respects so learned, disregard this branch of knowledge, the most momentous of all, because that on which their life, their usefulness in time, and their fitness for eternity, depend?

"Let the subject be viewed according to these tremendous realities, and you will subscribe to the necessity of diversifying your pursuits, — of having for bodily exercise such an object as may withdraw the attention from graver studies, and hold you in sufficient occupation, whilst it keeps you a good portion of every dry day out of doors. Your profession is of a nature that cannot maintain a healthful subsistence without having the body kept in motion from two to four hours a-day, — and all that time bathed in the free open air of heaven; and neither will your mind work to good purpose on serious subjects without frequent recourse to such as are light and recreating. Languor, debility, and a quick decay of the digestive organs, are inevitably superinduced by a contrary treatment; and whoever, on the appearance of such symptoms, has recourse to other stimulants than those of air and exercise, in order to help on the flagging powers of vitality, sows that moment the seeds of some mortal disease, under the suffering of which he cannot say that he is guiltless of his own blood.

"Such unnatural stimulus is to the body what enthusiasm in religion is to the mind; and they who, forsaking the salutary use of the divine Word, can be pleased only with fanatical excitement, must soon fall from their giddy height, and have themselves to blame for all the melancholy and moping idiocy which consequently ensue. Every artificial stimulus, whether in mind or body, is followed by a periodical lowness, — causing, in spiritual things, the gloom of despair, and in bodily, a

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wretchedness which can find no relief but by the exciting drug, which, on every fresh application, adds fuel to the flame it has already kindled. There is no misery like this, — to be a self-destroyer, and yet to shrink from the approaching catastrophe; and the more it is feared, to hasten it the more. And this is a state of being into which many are so unwittingly drawn, as a ship when it first touches the noiseless edge of a vortex. On the decay of the digestive powers, through the want of proper exercise, it seems reasonable and harmless to call in the aid of a dram; but the law is violated by that decision, and all future miseries are but the result and the punishment of that first violation. Let it be a fixed thing that temperance, air, exercise, with diversity of attention, are essential to a healthful and useful existence. The law holds on its even tenor, regular as the sun, and steadfast as the mind of the Eternal. Conformity or suffering is the only alternative: let the character of the transgressor be in other respects good or bad, the punishment is equally sure. God doth not suffer his law to be changed: he changes the countenance of the violator, and sendeth him away.

"To render your observance of the above law both cheerful and constant, nothing can be more efficacious than to betake yourself to the study and labor of your garden. In summer or in winter you will always find there something to do, and something that will give pleasure when it is done. Your required exercise never wants an object; one, too, that sufficiently draws off attention from more serious things, and has that peculiar interest which arises from a work that is progressive. Whilst the mind is refreshed by a continual variety, the exercise, to which the body is called, has not only the advantage of being in the open air, but of accommodating itself, by various degrees of activity, to every change of temperature. In the training of trees, the mind is agreeably occupied, whilst the free air and moderate exertion are admirably calculated for relieving, in the early part of the week, the languor and debility incident to the labors of the pulpit. When the air is colder, and the frame more energetic, the saw and the pruning knife, the one toilsome and the other easy, are excellent companions; and the spade, in one half hour, will bring on a summer glow in the coldest days of winter. Here, then, you have a kind of exercise, suited to all circumstances, ever at hand, and the motive to which is ever new, and strengthened by the love of progress, and the grateful survey of the work you have accomplished. A mere walk, compared with this, is like the amusement which children take in writing their names on the sand of the seashore; you derive advantage from the motion as you pass along, but you leave no abiding trace on the path that you have trode.

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"It is more important to observe, that whilst the mind is invigorated by diversity of pursuit, there is this further benefit, that the reciprocity of mental and manual exertion creates for each an increase of relish and aptitude: the garden recreation quickens the appetite for study, and the quiescent posture of study renews the desire of garden activity. Whoever has maintained, for a sufficient length of time, a regular system of employment, in which bodily and mental application are upheld in due proportion, will be surprised by the spontaneous appearance of those energies which hitherto lay dormant in his frame; nor is this the discovery of a fact merely, — it is a source of delight; for the healthful play of either muscular or mental power is as certainly a pleasure to the humane creature, as skipping to the lamb, or singing to the bird. A man used to this renovating process cannot become sluggish, and is a stranger to the sloth that eats into the bone. He keeps disease at a distance; and duties, which to the sluggard are a load, are light and easy to him. Whatever he has in hand he has also in heart; his movements are impetuous; so that it is dangerous, from the velocity with which he is carried, to meet him at the turn of a corner; and when the bodily energies are for a time suspended, but not exhausted, and there is a return to study, he enjoys, in the exercise of the thinking faculties, an actual revelry in the flowing of thoughts, which amount to more, in a brief space, than the most laborious efforts could produce, by the longest application, in a more languid state of the system.

"To possess this efficiency and promote its continuance, it is necessary not only to alternate, as above stated, the muscular and the mental activity, which by a mutual reaction improve each other, but it is necessary alike for both to avoid either lassitude or too long rest. Do not continue in study till mental application be overstretched, or till the circulation of the material fluids has become clogged and stagnant; and do not labor with hands or feet till weariness come upon the body, whilst the mind has been too long inactive. The moment that the thinking powers begin to flag, hasten to your garden; and as soon as weariness affects the body, return to your books. Let rest and fatigue be your tropics, and you will travel with unabated vigor over the undulating line of your ecliptic. But let quiescence be too long indulged, or lassitude too long sustained, and the consequence will be a long unfitness for any achievement; the one state terminates in leaden slumbers, — the other in faintness; the one makes exertion seem appalling, — the other makes it really impossible.

"Thus ought we to observe those constitutional laws which so

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deeply affect our happiness; and I am greatly confident that experience will, in every case, confirm all that has now been advanced as to health and the efficiency of labor; and the indisputable conclusion I trust will be allowed, that your work in the Lord's vineyard will thrive the better that you work in your own." — pp. 51 – 59.

Of the general truth of this we cannot doubt. Daily exercise with a tool in the garden, and daily also, a cold bath, will keep every man in health, and restore every man to it. If we should ever attempt a scheme of quackery, this would be the foundation of the practice. Of course mystery would be added. The garden tool would be made of a particular wood found only in the swamps of the upper banks of the Amazon, and the cold bath would be warranted to be useful only when it had received the addition of the thousandth part of a grain of the dried pulp of the berry that grew on the wood of the tool that grew on the banks of the Amazon. With such additions the baths would not contain the multitudes of believers, and what with the water and the sacred hoe the fame of the panacea would fill the world.

But respecting this garden work, much as it is to be reverenced, there are some practical difficulties and inconveniencies, when resorted to by a person of a studious life, concerning which we could have wished the ingenious author had given some of the rules which his own experience had suggested. For how long a time, for example, shall labor be continued? To what kinds shall the minister restrict himself? What hours of the day shall be devoted to the garden? Shall the hours of labor precede study, or follow it? Some have found the effect of severe labor at the hoe or spade to be extremely stupefying, to disincline and unfit the mind for mental labor. The temptation to rush into the garden in the dress which you happen to have on at the moment the desire seizes you, whereby, in the twinkling of an eye, a costly garment is irretrievably soiled — this is an evil and an expensive one. And whose collectedness and moderation are sufficient to guard against it? Should there be a fixed time for work and a fixed costume? The heat into which one's ardor drives him, with its consequences, is no small evil; not to add the absolute destruction of the hands, considered as instruments which, when you return to the study, are to be employed in the more refined art

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of writing. We cannot see our way out of these difficulties, and heartily wish the author had here been more explicit. They have, however, perhaps, been solved by our philosophical friends in Roxbury, whose experience is accessible.

Of the manner of the author in his garden directions we offer a single example, where he speaks of espaliers.

"As taste ought always to be consulted in matters of the garden, and as some object to espaliers altogether, on account of their stiff and formal appearance, it may be proper to say something for their admissibility before giving directions for their culture. It will be found that much of the bad effect complained of arises either from the undue height to which they are carried, or a great degree of unneatness in the mode of training. The straight lines in which they are planted cannot surely be urged as a valid objection, seeing that the espalier row has no more fault in this respect than the wall to which it is parallel, or the walk that lies between both; and if straight lines must be banished from the garden, then peas must be sown broadcast, potatoes must not be drilled, and we ourselves must walk crooked, either in a stooping posture or in a serpentine direction, in order to please the eye. Let the height of your rails, supposing your garden not to exceed the usual dimensions, be no more than enough to accommodate five branches, trained horizontally, and nine inches apart. Erect no heavy and green-painted woodwork, but rather let the trees themselves be the prominent objects, constituting a green and flourishing wall, sustained only by the slender tops of peeled larch, which may be suffered to fall away one by one, as the branches acquire strength for their own support. Such a line of fruit or blossom, instead of proving inconsistent with beauty, has rather a good effect; serving, like a picture frame, to give completeness, by a rich and beautiful boundary, to the flower border which usually runs between the gravel walk and the espalier row.

"But should your taste be over fastidious, it may be observed that the fruit raised on espaliers, of which every branch has an equal portion of the sun, is greatly superior to that of standard trees: besides, trees of the former description, whilst they yield a great deal of fruit, take up little or no ground; and, being kept so low, they do more good by sheltering than harm by shading the crops or flowers.

"But to determine finally the question as to ornament, take a survey of your garden after one of those gales with which we are usually visited about the autumnal equinox, and see the havoc that is made amongst the standard trees: one half of the

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fruit is thrown down, and every fallen apple or pear has received a mortal wound; some are deeply bruised, others are pierced with small stones, yet sticking in the flesh, and some have taken a dimple scarcely perceptible, but even that is an irreparable injury, and not one fruit in a thousand so hurt will keep for any length of time. But observe also how the unfallen have suffered by the shock of the tempest, — their heads have been dashed together, or they have been rubbed against the larger branches, or lashed all day and all night by the smaller twigs, till their natural color is lost in the multitude of stripes and blows. That they have not fallen is no proof of their safety, — they have perished, but having less maturity, they have been more tenacious of life, and are found after the storm, like those more resolute seamen whose dead-grasp is on the rope when their companions have been washed away." — pp. 83–85.

At the close of the work a description is given of a garden tool with which we reluctantly close our extracts.

"Garden-books commonly terminate in a description of garden tools; and something indeed, as to the best means of accomplishing the end their authors have in view, may very naturally be expected. But as the dealers in tools, as well as others in trade, are usually quicksighted enough to discover what sorts have the readiest sale, and as that sale soon comes to progress in the ratio of merit, the writer of the previous treatise is quite satisfied with the market as it is, together with the law which, without checking the multiplicity of inventions, circulates only the best. Instead therefore of describing the shape, size, or otherwise improved construction of spades, rakes, mattocks, and mousetraps, he proceeds to consider only one implement of the manse garden, and which truly needs no little attention to its proper use and amendment, — namely, the minister's boy.

"In former years the minister's man was a functionary of some note in the parish; but whether of late servants have risen in rank, or ministers fallen, certain it is that the minister's man has now very generally dwindled to a boy." * * *

"In general boys are plagues. Something above what is usually denominated an urchin, and beneath a varlet, they are of the most impracticable age, — an age when wit is the weakest and will is the strongest, — when independence, as an end, is desired the most, and character, as means, regarded the least. They have escaped from school at a time when, conscious of strength, they began to despise the master of a lowly seminary; and the parental authority to which they are required to submit is rarely good. The father being himself a servant, his chil-

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dren, by an instinct that needs to be amended, fail of respect; and he, most of his waking hours abroad, can do but little with the authority he has; whilst the mother, not careful of training at an early day, and used to the issue of uncertain commands, has recourse to persuasions or condescends to entreaty. Boys so reared come home, as their instalment to office is termed: and though at first shy and dumb as a sheep, yet no sooner has a small command by a superior servant been imposed, than it provokes a loud defiance, so naturally, in their new yoke, do they slide into the wonted rut of their ill made roads. Trained to no habits of industry, they like no sort of work. Their pleasure lies in idle companions; and their haunt is not yet the tavern, but the smithy, where they may spend the long hours in bartering a knife, in arranging a gallop, or marvelling at a gun-lock, with longing eye to the possession, but with no liking to the labor that might purchase the manly toy.

"So constituted, a boy cannot fall into worse hands than those of the minister, or enter upon work he is more reluctant to than his. On the farm the crack of the whip is music to his ear; the assemblage of laborers, the jibe and the jest, have the liveliness of a camp; whilst the yoking and unyoking of horses, the plunging of one unbroken to the yoke, and the upsetting of a cart, are a perfect Waterloo to his soul; and being there under authority, he is also surrounded with examples, which rouse his ambition, or soothe the toils of the day. But the scene is different at the manse: the boy works alone, if he work at all; he is depressed by solitude, and the eye of his master is seldom upon him; he hates his task, and spends his time in thinking which of a thousand lies will serve the best for an excuse. It ought to be a serious consideration with ministers, that boys, bringing to the manse the seeds of corruption, should find there the best soil on which to sow them, and the best leisure for tending their growth. And this they will do if not narrowly watched, and submitted to a treatment answerable to their nature; and freely it may be asserted, that neither catechising, nor reading the Bible, nor family prayer, will ever produce the least salutary effect, if idleness be allowed and lies go unpunished. Let the reflection be added, that as six months are the probable period of an ill-doer's service, it may happen that the minister, in the course of his life, has sent out to the world half a hundred youths, who at the manse have been endured merely as useless, but have gone somewhere to be endured as blackguards; whilst it may not be so certain that, of all that number, one convert has been made in all that time." — pp. 245 – 250.

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The author proceeds with some hints as to the methods of turning the boy's service to good account, and making him good, written all of it in a vein of pleasant humor and fine humanity. With this the volume closes.

In his "Manse Garden," as we judge, Dr. Paterson has done good service in behalf of the universal church, and especially in behalf of the ministers of the church. It is not directly a religious book, and in his preface the author betrays no little apprehension, lest by his brethren he should be thought to have departed from the proprieties of his profession and forfeited its dignity. But it is, in our opinion, and we imagine in the opinion of his brethren too, a religious book in a very real sense, as it tends to foster all those innocent tastes, which are either a ready foundation for religion, or the effects of its proper influence. In either case, the strain of thought that helps to confirm, or further refine such tastes, is to be commended as working with the other religious means. He, who by such a volume is drawn away from the lazy habits of a fire-side lounger, an uncleanly smoker of pipe or cigar, a reader of mere novels or other trash, by way of recruiting his spirits, to the free air and invigorating labors of the garden, to the gentle cares of flowers and fruits, and the nice observation to which they inevitably lead of the most beautiful and useful of the works of God, and to the hearing of the homilies they preach, whereby better than by poring over Taylor or Shakspeare his thoughts are stirred and kindled for the next sermon, is both helped in his intellectual work in the most effectual manner, and put in the way of a more genuine piety. No one can read the "Manse Garden" without perceiving everywhere, not only in the deep religious sentiment, but in the character of the humor, and in the graces of the style, the chastening influences of the objects and labors among which he has passed so many of his hours. A flowery odor pervades it. Let any one occupy himself in the same cares and dwell among the same objects, even though he should not undertake the severer kinds of garden labor, and he will not fail to find heart and health in the mending way.

But one special benefit which accrues from works of this class, and from the employments they recommend, is the attachment they cause to spring up for home, the new charms they add to it, and the stronger affections that by consequence gather around it. Plant a tree, train a vine, encompass a gar-

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den seat or summer house with flowers and shrubs, and you have at the same time planted yourself in the soil. A part of your heart is there, and you leave the spot with pain. If compelled to depart, it is parting from a kind of household gods. Now we really think that the possessing of a small estate, and adorning it by well cultivated grounds and garden, by the planting of trees and shrubbery, the laying out of walks, &c. would tend more than any graver causes that could easily be named to render a ministry permanent. A place that was owned, or, as a parsonage to be occupied for life, and that was either found a beautiful residence or made so, would not be lightly forsaken. If the frequent changes that now take place is an evil, if it is desirable that pastor and people should be bound together by a sort of marriage tie, as was of yore the custom, then any device that should barely promise reform should not be overlooked or despised. We believe great virtue would be found in the suggestion now made. What in the world is there, save a sense of duty — and we are not all duty and conscience — to bind a young minister in most cases of settlement in a parish to the spot where he goes? What is his early ministerial life and where passed? Every reader knows. Perhaps he *boards* for one or even three or four years. Where and how? It is, ten to one, in a two story house, all have seen, of a dazzling white, with a door in the middle, and a room on either side — perhaps with blinds to the windows, perhaps not, but, instead, paper curtains within, standing within six feet of the public road, separated from it by a fence of small round wooden rods, the posts adorned with urns, with two small fir trees in front, and none on the sides, and with neither yard nor garden behind. Perhaps into this bleak and comfortless dwelling, cold and dreary in winter, blazing away in the hot suns of summer, he introduces his young wife, and having hired it, commences housekeeping. Housekeeping! If the youthful pair obeyed impulse, as some recommend, it would soon be housebreaking. If they were educated in any refinement, as is fair to suppose in the case of all our wealthier denominations, the only hour of enjoyment is when at dusk they stroll away out of the dust, into some secluded lane or neighboring wood. Should this be thought a caricature,—the very most favorable supposition is, that a house is procured, hired, at a little farther remove from the centre of the village, with an acre or a half of land about it, a few trees

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here and there just starting into growth, with some larger ones in sight among the neighbors. There is scope and verge enough for a garden. But although for economy's sake, and for the sake of exercise, the garden may be tilled, how diminished is the motive for adorning it, by procuring flowers or trees, from the uncertainty of possession. Even if his prospect of permanency in his settlement seems fair, he is at the mercy of his landlord; and at the best, unless he should be a man of property, he must pass many of his first years of his ministry, the most impressive years of his life, in such a half-home, before he could venture upon purchasing, either with money saved, or money hired. There will be no garden and no shrubbery, and no bee-house, and no flower beds, till the dwelling is a home by being owned, or rented for life.

Is it not then a pity, that the ancient custom of a parsonage should have almost disappeared from the church in our country? We do not mean to say that a parsonage were better than to own a place in one's own right — unless there may be thought to be something in its neighborhood to the church, in its touch of age, in the large overshadowing elms, in the associations belonging to it, to make it more to be desired than a new and garish fabric, though it should be intrinsically more valuable and were our own. But however this may be, there is not one in an hundred, who is ever able to purchase; or, if ever, not till he is somewhat fallen into the sere and yellow leaf. And between the wretched chance-accommodations which the minister can find in the streets of the village, and a snug parsonage for life just in the rear of the church, or modestly looking through its heavy foliage by its side, how can any comparison be instituted? Introduce your young pastor into such a cottage, neat but not gaudy, standing back from the road, and well shaded with a variety of tree and shrub, honeysuckles climbing over the porch and shedding abroad their delicious fragrance, the chimneys even richly set off with running vines which have clustered over them, the interior conveniently divided into parlor, kitchen, study, and chamber, clean with fresh paint and whitewash, set out with simple, modest, but substantial articles of furniture, a stable in the rear with its accompanying out-buildings, with good land of from not less than five to not more than fifteen acres, — open the gates of such a paradise to your young minister and his little wife, and neither will readily leave it; it will, as in the case of the first pair, take

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driving to expel them. Every inferior motive will then conspire with every higher, to ensure good preaching and holy living; to make the minister contented with his lot and zealous to fulfil with fidelity the duties of a station, where, if his labor is often severe and perplexing, he nevertheless enjoys as many of the best blessings of life as he probably deserves, or as in the plans of providence often fall to the lot of man. We cannot doubt that by the reviving of this good old usage, the ministry would gain in permanency and in respectability.

At any rate, whether parsonages are revived or not, more might be done than often is done, by pastor, people, or both, to make the "manse" a more attractive abode. A less inviting spot one could hardly find in a town, than very often is the minister's house, — and this not necessarily so, but half the time through sheer slovenliness and neglect, or from the absence of that feeling for what is beautiful, which, alas, with all their other achievements, our places of higher education do so little to foster and unfold. It is well if by the examples they set to the young of false architecture, tasteless management of trees and grounds, of rude neglect of the public buildings and their appurtenances, of incompleteness in what has been attempted, or absolute deformity, they do not pervert what correct notions, and injure what good taste they brought there — not only not educating, but un-educating. Owing to such causes, the minister, though well taught in Greek and Latin, a good reader and a good writer, is very apt to leave the schools profoundly ignorant of art, with his natural taste for nature and what is beautiful, unless it has been lost, but having passed through no æsthetical training. His house, when he is settled, shows the effects of this. The situation and natural advantages may be faultless, yet it shall be found to be devoid of grace as a structure, set in the wrong spot, facing the wrong way, the fences a nuisance to the eye, and either without trees, or they are all of a kind, or in every place but the right ones.

Many treatises have lately appeared, especially those of Mr. Downing, which are tending rapidly to correct the evils of which we complain. The "Manse Garden" does its share in the reforming process, though it is too exclusively a garden manual to do the service it might, did it with the same grace of manner deal less with minute detail and more with general principles. We will not, however, regret anything about so good a book, but rather express the hope that the author, if he should

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feel convinced that he has not in the present publication committed one of the seven deadly sins, will add a second volume, in which shall be presented an application of the whole doctrine of the beautiful to every part of the minister's life.

But we must hasten to the second work before us, from which we have too long detained the reader. It covers a much wider and more various field than the "Manse Garden," and descends to much humbler topics, but it is managed with a pleasant humor, though broader, written in a lively style, though not so elegant as the other, but manifesting equal acquaintance in the subjects handled, and equal ability in the treatment of them. Its title is that which stands at the head of our article, "Clerical Economics."* Its range and purpose will be best seen by presenting a part of the table of contents. It is divided into five chapters, with their subdivisions. The first is devoted to "Income." The second, "Economics at the Manse," viz. — "The economy of time, Marriage, The kitchen and its management, Parties, Wines, Making bread, The grocery department, Servants, The man-servant"; the third, "The Glebe and its Management; Plantation, Old trees on the glebe, Fences, Gates, Draining, Manure, Watered meadows, Cleaning, Course of cropping, Grain usually cultivated on the glebe"; chapter fourth, "Live Stock at the Manse," viz. — "Cows, Butter and cheese, Implements of the dairy, Sheep, Pigs, The horse, Stabling, Feeding, Horses, Ponies for the children, Poultry, Turkeys, Pigeons, Rabbits, Hens, Ducks, Geese, Bees." Here is a large variety of topics, and it may readily be supposed that a great deal of information is conveyed under them. Much is wholly inapplicable to us and to any part of our country; but much also is of universal interest and use. Let us first look into the manse and see what it is like.

"The whole establishment at the manse is a catalogue of anomolies, perhaps nowhere else to be found in the British dominions. The very manse has something about it altogether *sui generis*. Even a foreigner, after seeing one or two manses in Scotland, could point out almost every one, amid all the other houses in any parish, from Maidenkirk to John O'Groat's;

* Clerical Economics; or, Hints, Rural and Household, to Ministers and Others of Limited Income. By a Clergyman of the Old School. Edinburgh: John Johnstone, Hunter Square. London: R. Groombridge. 1842.

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and nobody can say whether it manifests these distinctive marks from that which it has, or from that which it wants. Upon the whole, it is, or may be, one of the snuggest houses in Europe; but sometimes with an ugly number of windows, when the taxes come a-paying. It is occasionally splendid, and generally genteel; but here and there it is not quite handsome enough. It has sometimes a green field before it, in keeping with the station and taste of its occupier; like a cow's pasture about the door of two maiden sisters. A country manse is not a mansion-house, a jointure-house, or a farm-house, far less is it a cottage or a castle; yet it has something more or less of each, and all of these strangely blended. In a word, it must, out and in, be described by itself. It is a manse exactly like itself, — and that is like nothing anywhere else. In a country town it is sometimes jammed up into a confined, dark, and dirty corner, elbowed in with the churchyard, the fore street, the back lane, and the midden dubs. Here nothing is to be seen over the minister's wall but half the windows of the village staring you in the face; and nothing is to be heard but the noise of the weaver's shuttle, and the chap chapping of Souter Johnnie's hammer, varied, in the distance, with the more musical ring from the black brawny arm of the village smith.

"Next comes the minister, whose piety, learning, and worldly wisdom the whole parish admires. He is the gravitating power which binds the mass of parochial society in one lump. He is the magnetic pole to which all classes of the population point. He is the connecting link in the galvanic chain which conveys the fruits of sympathy, kindness, and care, from the rich to the poor, and which inculcates and reconveys gratitude and respect from the poor back to the wealthy. He is alike useful to all ranks, high and low. He gives the poor their last consolation in misery, and he offers the rich their only motives to restrain them from vice. He is a man of no rank, just because he is thus a man of every rank. He is, therefore, to be found the one day seated at the board of the peer, and the other on the dim and smoky bedside of the dying pauper. Every day in the week he is uniformly in the midst of all the scenes of severe or sudden sorrow. On Sabbath he is the pathetic, the pious, and the powerful preacher. His prayers in public and in private, his preaching and general observation, are, even in our degenerate age, far more influential than the general cast of thought, which, by prudence and a little activity, he silently controls, even in spite of the ferocious delirium of the Voluntary and Radical Press.

"There is next the minister's better half, and she is general-

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ly so, in every sense of the expression; for a minister may be either rich or poor, happy or unhappy, popular or the reverse in his parish, to a very great extent indeed, exactly as his wife chooses. Nay, in everything within the compass of her experience, tèn to one but she gives a sounder advice than the minister will take. There may not, in every case, be a great depth of learning and philosophy, but there often is a quick and just perception of the prudent and proper thing to be done; and the man is a fool who does not allow his wife to guide and guard him oftener than he lets wit. No lady has so important a part to act in so vast a variety of stations. Let nothing be mentioned of the mere domestic duties of a wife and mother, — which no Christian woman looks down upon; she ought always to be as much of the lady as her neighbors generally are. She must be able to take her station, with ease and confidence, at the head of her own table. She must be often in her own kitchen to direct the cooking, and to take a peep into the scullery. She must see sometimes how the cream is managed in the milkhouse. She may even step to the threshold of the byre door, — taking care of her feet of course, — to let the servant know that she can notice whether the cows be properly attended to. Besides her duties at the manse, she must make her rounds in the parish with whatever she can spare from her stores, — and, alas! that it should be so little, — of cordials, clothing, or medicine and meal. What she can't spare of her own, she can sometimes obtain from the treasures of the rich. And in this way she may be of immense service, not only to the community, but to her husband, in helping him to discharge some of the usual duties of his office.

"Then there is the minister's man, who, besides being an oracle in the parish, must be at the manse, complete of his kind, and without a flaw. Like Sampson Carrasco, he must be sound of body, strong of limb, a silent sufferer of heat and cold, hunger and thirst, and endowed with more than those qualifications which are requisite in the squire of a knight-errant. He must have a good temper, and be patient of reproof. He must combine, in his own person, the offices of steward, ploughman, carter, cattlekeeper, gardner, and, it is said, in some parishes, of bellman, gravedigger, and precentor. He must be able to sow, and put up stacks, to thatch on an occasion, and to build up dikes any day in the year, when they happen to tumble down. In short, he too must be a servant of all work, and do everything that can occur at a manse, — and that is more than happens at the house of proprietor, tenant, or cottar. In addition to all this, the servant-man, in some cases, becomes a sort of

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confidential adviser, — a companion, and, in truth, a kind of master over the aged and once active pastor. For forty or fifty years they may have been united in one interest. They may both have grown gray about the manse, and intend, as a mere matter of course, to breathe their last within the precincts of the glebe.

"It would be tiresomely minute to tell what is required of the servants in the kitchen; the duties of dairy, and cook, and cattle-maid, are to be combined in one individual; and of house, table, and nursery-maid in another. And then the 'bit laddie' must be herd and stable boy, boots, waiter, and runner to the post-office.

"But a paragraph must be given to the well-known and most useful of all four-footed animals about a manse, — the minister's one horse, — which is perhaps a greater anomaly than any already mentioned. He must be, and he generally is, a paragon of a horse. He must contain, within the compass of his own individual person, the whole perfections proper to his species, to fit him for that universality of employment to which he is daily destined. He must unite four horses in one body at least. He must be a saddle-horse, a gig-horse, and a cart and plough-horse all combined, thus uniting gentility, agility, docility, and strength. He must have something of stature and symmetry, with a good cargo of bones compactly put together. He must be hardy, not only to endure fatigue and fasting too, but to stand heats and colds, and every variety of stable accommodation. He must not kick, bite, or eat saddles when standing in the same stall with a neighbor. He must have a firm step, and good eyes in the dark; and he must not be too sensitive to either whip or spur. The variety, indeed, of his occupations for any one week of the year, it is almost ridiculous to enumerate. In the words of the late Lord Meadowbank, he is to be regarded as 'one of the *essentialia* of the situation of a clergyman,' without which he can scarcely discharge any one of the most important of his sacred functions. Without his horse the minister cannot visit his parishoners, or his presbytery, or the schools in the district, or the synod of the bounds. But not only does he require to carry the minister on his back, but he must drag, at times, the whole family in a drosky, in shape, bulk, and weight, something akin to the picture, in 'Reading made Easy,' of Noah's Ark, or to the more useful and humble Whitechapel cart, — not unlike a machine used in our cities for watering the streets. He must not only be a plough-horse, but he should be able, at times, almost *alone*, to draw the plough, because it is not every day in the year that he can marrow with the horse 'of a good neighbor, possessed, in like manner, of a

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little farm and a solitary beast.' He must not only bring home crops and coals to the manse, but, on great emergencies, in hay-time and harvest, he must be a drudge to all the little occupants of land in the vicinity."—pp. 9–13.

The description thus given of the manse, differs in many respects from what would be true of one of our country minister's establishments. The chapter on Income is too local in its bearing, too much about teinds, teind courts, factors and heritors, commissioners of teinds, servitudes of peat, feal, and divot, &c., to be of much service or interest to us. But as soon as the author gets fairly within the manse, things wear a new face. His chapter on Economics hardly opens before he runs a tilt against the old bachelors. A wife is necessary to true economy.

"'Take a thought, and mend,' is the first, the last, and the only hint in clerical economy to be given to the *confirmed* bachelor. But who is a confirmed bachelor, and where is he to be found? He is that solitary, melancholic, and monkish man, which is the most to be pitied of all living beings at the manse. But take his own word for it, and the confirmed bachelor is no more to be met with than a mermaid is; for nobody takes the compliment to himself, or will allow it to be given to him. While the matter is doubtful, and so long as a gleam of hope tells the flattering tale of joys never to come, the gray-haired squire boasts of the appellation, and plays off his jokes with dexterity in defence of his own order; but ask the unmarried man of fourscore years, How old art thou? and he will blink the question. Advise him to marry, and he will admit that he has not given up thoughts of it; and above any, he is the most earnest in urging his young friends to take a wife.

"But whether you be a confirmed bachelor, or one merely for a year or two by a concurrence of untoward circumstances, the word of command is—*Go marry, Sir*, and know, before you die, what the words Comfort, and kindly feelings, and clerical economy mean. Be selfish and recluse no longer, but give your affections, and a portion of your worldly means, to one who will double your joys, and divide all your sorrows. Instead of misspending these on birds, cats, and dogs, great and small, black, white, and spotted, select an object more worthy of it than four-footed animals and creeping things. Instead of yawning over a book as your dumb and daily companion, smile rather on the faces of a blooming and joyous family, as the only way to make home a place of rest and happiness. Furnish your manse as you may, with easy chairs, sofas, and settees,—have a vapor, a

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shower, and a plunge bath, cold, warm, or tepid, — have a snug porch, and a green door, with a fawn light, and a stove in the lobby, with a flue of heated air up the main stair-case to the top, — have a roaring fire in the parlor every morning before breakfast, with all sorts of antique fire-screens, large and little, — have a fiddle, a solitaire, a tobacco pipe, or a set of stocking-wires, to vary your occupations, — when you go for an hour to snuff up the east wind, put on your cork soles, overalls, and dreadnought, — go to bed at midnight, or long after it, and rise far on in the afternoon, when the day has been well aired; — have all this, and four times more, but still, my good friend, so long as you want THE WIFE, there is a coldness, a formality, and a prim correct sort of bachelorism in the whole affair, which, happily, is never to be found when there are three or four boys romping about.

"Children may occasion many cares, but without them there are few real comforts. 'Little children are as arrows in the hands of a mighty man. Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them. He shall not be ashamed, but shall speak with the enemies in the gate.' * * *

"But the question occurs, — Who should a minister marry? One somewhat of a minister's own station in life and age? Most undoubtedly. — With money? Yes, as a mean, but not as an end. A wife who brings one hundred pounds a-year, and spends two, is not a profitable bargain. One penny *in* the wife is often better than two *with* her. — A wife of your own flock? It may do tolerably well if the minister be endowed, and the lady wealthy; but otherwise, it often proves hazardous. Above and beyond every thing, don't let the minister of a royal burgh cleave unto an old residenter in his own town. If he does, he will not have his sorrows to seek, inasmuch as he will find himself harnessed at once and for ever to every *clishmaclaver* for the last fifty years, to all the family feuds within the royalty, and to all the personal and party politics of a small constituency.

"Samson, we are told, went down to Timnath, and saw a woman of Timnath, of the daughters of the Philistines; and he came up and told his father and his mother, and said, 'I have seen a woman in Timnath, of the daughters of the Philistines; now therefore get her for me to wife. Then his father and mother said unto him, Is there never a woman among the daughters of thy brethren, or among all my people, that thou goest to take a wife of the uncircumcised Philistines? And Samson said unto his father, Get her for me, for she pleaseth me well.' Samson got her accordingly, and everybody knows what were the consequences. On this matter Henry observes, 'that the nego-

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tiation of Samson's marriage was a common case. It was weakly and foolishly done of him. Shall one that is not only an Israelite, but a Nazarite devoted to the Lord, covet to become one with a worshipper of Dagon? Shall one marked for a patriot of his country match among those that were his sworn enemy? He saw this woman, and she pleased him well; he saw something in her face that was very agreeable to his fancy, and therefore nothing will serve but she must be his wife.' Then he adds in his own powerful and practical way, 'He that, in the choice of a wife, is guided only by his eye, and governed by his fancy, must afterwards thank himself if he find a Philistine in his arms.' Well said, honest Matthew Henry. Let clergymen who are parents, and may have sons or daughters to be married, read the whole commentary on this passage, and they will see how pious, how acute, how practical, and how just an observer that prince of commentators was, in spite of the quaint remarks with which he has loaded his work. Justly might the great and venerable Sir Harry Moncrieff say of his writings, 'that they contained all the sense and all the nonsense which ever were written on every passage.'" — pp. 60 – 63.

In the chapter on the Glebe and its Management, the question arises, whether it be better for the minister to cultivate it himself or let it out. It is decided both for and against cultivation, according to circumstances of position; the author quotes from some friend.

"The question, whether a minister ought to cultivate his glebe or let it, is one of locality. If he is placed in an entirely rural situation, and remote from neighbors, we would advise him, by all means, to keep it in his own hands, both as a matter of taste and convenience. His mind cannot be incessantly fixed on professional objects. He must have recreations of some sort; and we know of none more pure and innocent than agricultural pursuits. It is of great consequence, too, to have some source of interest out of doors. We would not have a minister confine his daily exercise, as we have known some do, to a walk of ten minutes from the manse, a lean of an equal length of time over a gate, and then a walk back again. To cure this indolent habit, we would recommend him to cultivate his glebe, and to take an interest in every stage of the progress of his crops, from the scarce-sprung braird to the whitening harvest. He should also have plenty of live stock about him. It will even do his heart good to hear the cackle of the hens, and the early crow of chanticleer. He will have much wholesome exercise in chasing them out of the garden, and an admirable trial of patience in behold-

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ing his onion beds scratched into a thousand holes. He should also have cows, though it were for no other purpose than to serve as figures in the little landscape round the manse. It will give him pleasure to observe them from his window, grazing at their ease, or reclining on the grass — a perfect picture of repose. We would even advise him to make it his custom, in the summer season, to slip out towards sunset, and, with his own reverend hands, open the gate of their enclosure, just that he may see them wend their slow way home to the byre, — that he may mark the noiseless pace, the gentle low, the frequent pause, the look, all round, of calm and unalarmed inquiry! All such rural sights and sounds have a tendency to soothe and cheer a man's heart, and a minister in the country should therefore contrive to have them always within his reach, and should not only cherish a taste for them himself, but teach his children to do the same. Rural tastes are so pure and pleasing in themselves, and are so often associated with what is amiable in character, that we cannot help regarding whatever tends to encourage them as tending, in some degree, however small, to strengthen the bulwarks of virtue.

"But the minister of a remote country parish should not only cultivate his glebe as a pleasing occupation; he *must* do it in order to have many of his necessities supplied. Being far from the butcher market, he must kill his own mutton, and often substitute a milk diet for animal food. For these reasons he must keep sheep and cows, for he cannot always be supplied with milk by the neighboring farmers. They are either too distant, or have such a mode of managing their dairies, that they will not dispose of dairy produce except in the form of butter and cheese. Besides all this, no minister can dispense entirely with the services of a man-servant; and as, in a remote place, a jobber cannot always be had, he must keep a man for the whole year, and cultivate the glebe in order to find him full employment.

"So much for retired country parishes. In those which contain towns or populous villages, with the manse in the midst of them, as too often happens, the case is entirely different. The idea of cultivating the glebe, as a recreation, is here out of the question. The minister can only find his way to it through a dirty lane, and when he does reach it, is under a thousand eyes, and is liable to interruption from every passer-by. His cows pass through said lane always at full speed, knowing that they are marks for every village urchin to practise his whip upon, or to pelt with stones. His hens, if he ventures to keep any, get him into quarrels with all his neighbors and get their own legs broken into the bargain. In all such situations we would recommend the minister to let his glebe, reserving summer grass for a horse,

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and keeping no cow. This will be his best economy. His horse having less heavy work to do, will be more easily kept, and last longer. He will also be at the command of his master when needed, which, on the other plan, is not always the case. How often have we seen a minister trudging for ten or twelve miles through dub and mire, because Saunders Heavyside, with whom he marrows, has his horse away that day ploughing in the bog! And a woful ploughing to the poor horse it turns out to be; for, beginning to sink, and becoming flurried, while Saunders' patriarch remains cool, he runs away with the whole draught, and racks himself to death. From such casualties the plan of letting the glebe is free. It has also the advantage of saving the very serious expense of keeping a man-servant throughout the whole year, while a villager to groom the horse night and morning may be had for a trifle.

"The plan of keeping no cow may startle some people, but this point has, in the case of some ministers, been brought to the test of well-ascertained experience; and the result is said to be, that the sum necessary for the summer and winter keep of a cow, will more than suffice for supplying a large family with milk and butter. They will also be better supplied, for the butter of a one-cow dairy is seldom good. But, more especially, an infinity of work will be saved. This last consideration is sometimes a most important one. For suppose a minister to have a large family, two servants, and no cow, and that the servants, though not oppressed, have such an efficiency of work that they cannot undertake any more; to give them the charge of a cow in these circumstances, will be to lay on the last pound which breaks the camel's back. A third servant will be needed, and then the minister may, if he can, boast of the profit of his dairy!" — pp. 115–117.

In the chapter on Pigs, — a subject that seems to rouse the genius of every one who touches it, Lamb, Sir Francis Head, and last, Dickens, — the "Clergyman of the Old School" shows unaccustomed vigor, enlarges upon it with an evident relish, and displays, what is by no means so apparent when treating of any other creature, quite a sentimental humanity. He gives him the best and warmest quarter about the manse. Hear him.

"Show an economist the pig, and in one moment he knows how all is going on at the manse. If he hears it squealing, and sees it climbing the stone walls, and laboring to tear up the pavement, he knows that the poor animal has not got its breakfast,

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just because there was no breakfast made ready to give it. Let an eye be cast into its bedstead, and he will find it so wet and dirty, that the creature is compelled to sit shivering in a corner till rheumatism, crinkets, and death itself close the career."—pp. 191, 192.

And again, soon after.

"Having resolved to keep pigs, and to do it properly, the first thing to be done is to erect a fit pig-house. Let some consideration and outlay be devoted to this measure, very important of its kind; because on this mainly depends the success of the whole plan. Let the sleeping apartment be dry as a bone, above and below, not large, but warm, and every way comfortable. Let it have a slope from the back part towards the door. If it be floored with flagstones, let these be laid on a foot at least of stones broken like road metal, and don't make them too close in the joints, that water may sink instantly down. As good a method as that of the pavement is to lay sleepers above the stone shivers as before, and to nail down upon these a firm substantial wooden floor, open also at the joints. If there be a saw-mill in the neighbourhood, apply for some of the slabs, and a cart-load of them may be had for from 1s. 6d. to 3s. The outer court should be large, airy, and laying to the sun; for swine are very fond of basking in its burning beams. It should be near to the dunghill, and above it, that the sap may run down into, and through it. The court should also be well paved with flagstones, or causeway stones, not laid on shivers as before, but bedded on half a foot of well-worked clay, and the seams made as small as may be, that *no* wet may sink. Let there be two stone troughs, not too large nor too deep, but so heavy and firmly set that they can't be moved by the nose of the sow, which is powerful beyond conception. There should also be two sleeping apartments, similar in all respects, so that when the one pig is put up to fatten before the other, it may be separated, and the richer food apportioned accordingly. The house should be tightly roofed, and slated as carefully as any man's house in the kingdom. And, in a word, great punctuality and care should be devoted once for all to these objects; otherwise it were better to have nothing to do with keeping pigs. If circumstances admit of it, let the pig-house, and especially the sleeping apartments, be behind the boiler, that they may have the benefit of the heat from that fire. At the lower end of the pig court, let there be a condie through which the sap may perforate, and at the mouth of this let the ashes from the grates be laid, that they, again, may drink up that which might otherwise be comparatively lost, excepting to the air and the ol-

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factory nerves. Let no slovenly waster dare to affirm that in all this there is anything *finical,* — it is all proper, and it will all pay; and in answer to all such soft simpering mannerism, let me tell you it is humane and Christian. But, says another, who has not visited his parish through and through for the last half score of years, how can a minister attend to all this, and do his duty as such? — Quite well after all, for it requires only to be done once in an incumbency, and it is as easy to do it well as it is to do it ill." — pp. 192, 193.

This is humane counsel, and the author deserves well of the swinish herd. It is but right that the only animal, quadruped perhaps we should say, of which absolutely the whole is eaten, those parts being esteemed chief delicacies, which, in other more comely creatures, are utterly refused, should be kindly cared for by those who after he is dead love him so well. But for the most part he presents but a piteous spectacle in his treatment during life of the ingratitude of man. Everybody knows what a common pig-stye is — how very wet, dirty, and disagreeable a place; even its upper story, when it has one, rarely presenting a floor clean and dry, while more usually the patient sufferer passes day and night in conditions of abandonment, which it would be impossible to make intelligible to those who have not seen for themselves. Not so, however, in the apartments of the Clergyman of the Old School, where rooms are secured in connexion with fires, and where the brief life — he is but an annual — of this epicure's friend, is passed in as high a state of enjoyment as could probably be provided for him. Notwithstanding all the Agricultural Commissioner has urged upon the subject, it may be useful to have seen in the preceding extract the same opinions echoed from the other side of the Atlantic.

But we must close our notice of these pleasant volumes; neither being the book we should like to see upon the world-life of the minister, and trust yet to see; both being excellent in their way, and answering the ends proposed by their authors.

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SPECIMENS OF FOREIGN STANDARD LITERATURE.*

This is the fourteenth volume of Mr. Ripley's series of Specimens from Foreign Standard Literature. It has already been some time before the public, and its merits are well known. Mr. Brooks, the principal translator of these lyrical pieces, has before this tried his hand at the work of translating. One or two of the dramatic masterpieces of Schiller have been very ably translated by him into English. His versions show an accurate knowledge of the German language — no small accomplishment — and a power of appreciating the spirit of the German poets; they show, too, uncommon facility and grace in English versification. Mr. Brooks is a very faithful translator; faithful both to the letter and spirit of his originals. He takes no liberties with his author's language or sentiments, but such as are necessary in transferring poetical conceptions from one language into another; at the same time, he generally succeeds in avoiding the stiffness which is apt to characterize very disagreeably those translations which are entitled to boast of their fidelity. This fidelity both to substance and form, in translating from one language to another, is absolutely essential to a good translation. We need not say, that a great proportion of the English versions from the ancient and foreign languages are sadly deficient in this leading excellence. Juster ideas on this subject have begun to prevail. Mr. Longfellow's extraordinary translations from nearly all the languages now spoken under the sun, and from some that are not, have set an example of the closest and most literal fidelity, and the freest rhythmical movement — demonstrating not only that the problem can be solved, but solved in such a way that a person familiar with the languages, but a stranger to the particular works, would be at a loss to tell which was the original and which the translation. This example all future translators must follow, and approach as nearly as they can.

Mr. Brooks commands a rich and racy English style. He is a master of English composition, and in the choice of his words manifests a strict and correct taste. He uses instinctively what

* Songs and Ballads, translated from Uhland, Körner, Bürger, and other German Lyric Poets. By Charles T. Brooks. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1842. 12mo. pp. 400.

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all now understand and acknowledge to be the most forcible, expressive, and picturesque part of the composite language we have the good luck to call our mother tongue — namely, the Saxon element; but he so uses it as to make his style pointed, energetic, and direct, without painfully abstaining from the more sonorous words which we inherit, or have in some other way taken possession of, from the Latin and French. This mixture of different elements gives an enchanting variety to English style, that can be rivalled, we venture to say, by no other language now in existence. It enables an author, who has sounded all its powers, and mastered all its keys, to give his discourse the greatest precision, to express his ideas with the greatest fulness, to mark the slightest differences in the tones of thought, with the greatest readiness and force. And what can surpass the ever changing music which the language is shown to be capable of producing, both in verse and prose, in the works of the masters of English composition; in the varied and artful rhythms of Milton, and the stately cadences, scarcely less rhythmical, of Burke?

But to return to the volume now before us. A former number of the series contains an excellent selection from the minor poems of Goethe and Schiller, translated chiefly, and admirably translated, by Mr. Dwight. But Goethe and Schiller, preëminent as they were, must not be considered as exhausting the lyrical treasures of German literature. These two great names have been so often and so loudly sounded in the trump of Fame, that foreign students are apt to forget that Germany has other poets — and especially lyric poets — almost if not quite equally worthy of admiration. Germany is eminently a poetical land; the German heart is essentially lyrical; German feelings have been lyrical, and lyrically expressed from the very earliest periods of the national history. What were all the Minnesingers and Meistersingers of the Middle Ages, but so many lyrical warblers, through whose melodious voices the mighty German heart poured itself out? That bright beginning of German lyrical poetry has been followed by an unbroken series of poets whose genius has been lyrical, and whose works have been only a natural expression of German sentiment and feeling. Indeed, if we were to select any one word as more descriptive of the character of the German poetical literature than any other, it would be *lyrical.* Many of Goethe's most popular lyrical pieces are in substance the productions

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almost of the infancy of the German nation, adapted in style and expression to modern taste; and every one knows what treasures of fine lyric poetry have been disclosed to the world by the recent labors of German scholars, and published in large collections like the Knaben Wunderhorn. Scarcely a modern German poet is to be mentioned, who has not worked over the rich materials offered to the lyric muse in the Sagas, legends, and wondrous tales, which centre around the great heroic age of Germany. And then the outbreak of the German national spirit against the domination of the French was accompanied by a lyrical enthusiasm, equal to that which blazed in the Iambics of Archilochus, the Dithyrambs of Stesichorus, or the Elegiac Hexameters and Pentameters of Tyrtæus. From these endless treasures of poetry Mr. Brooks has made his very tasteful selection. The greatest number he has very properly taken from Uhland. We proceed, by way of conclusion, to give a few. The following is a good specimen of Uhland's naive simplicity.

SONG OF THE MOUNTAIN BOY.

The mountain shepherd boy am I;
The castles all below me spy.
The sun sends me his earliest beam,
Leaves me his latest, lingering gleam.
I am the boy of the mountain!

The mountain torrent's home is here,
Fresh from the rock I drink it clear;
As out it leaps with furious force,
I stretch my arms and stop its course.
I am the boy of the mountain!

I claim the mountain for my own;
In vain the winds around me moan;
From north to south let tempests brawl, —
My song shall swell above them all.
I am the boy of the mountain!

Thunder and lightning below me lie,
Yet here I stand in upper sky;
I know them well, and cry, "Harm not
My father's lowly, peaceful cot."
I am the boy of the mountain!

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But when I hear the alarm-bell sound,
When watchfires gleam from the mountains round,
Then down I go and march along,
And swing my sword and sing my song.
I am the boy of the mountain!

The following poem is familiar to most readers, in another translation. Mr. Brooks had an able rival in his anonymous predecessor; but he has come out of the contest with honor.

THE PASSAGE.

Years have vanished, like a dream,
Since I ferried o'er this stream;
Flood and castle, as of old,
Glimmer now in evening's gold.

Two companions, loved and tried,
Then sailed over by my side;
One was fatherlike — the other
Young and generous as a brother.

One in quiet spent life's day,
Then sank quietly away;
But the other earlier passed
Home through battle and through blast.

When I thus live fondly o'er
Days gone by to come no more,
I must ever miss and mourn
Friends whom death has from me torn.

Yet when heart and heart unite,
Friendship's chain is then most bright;
Thus the friends to memory dear
Still, in soul, are with me here.

Threefold fare, O pilot, take,
For a grateful stranger's sake;
Two, that ferried o'er with me,
Spirits were, unseen by thee.

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We give the following specimen of the fiery genius of Germany's great war-poet — Körner.

MY NATIVE LAND.

Where is the minstrel's native land? —
  Where sparks of noble soul flashed high,
  Where garlands bloomed in honor's eye,
  Where manly bosoms glowed with joy,
Touched by Religion's altar-brand,
There *was* my native land!

Name me the minstrel's native land. —
  Though now her sons lie slain in heaps,
  Though, wounded and disgraced, she weeps,
  Beneath her soil the freeman sleeps.
The land of oaks — the German land —
They *called* my native land!

Why weeps the minstrel's native land? —
  To see her people's princes cower
  Before the wrathful tyrant's power;
  She weeps, that, in the stormy hour,
No soul at her high call will stand.
That grieves my native land!

Whom calls the minstrel's native land? —
  She calls the voiceless gods; her cries,
  Like thunder-storms, assail the skies;
  She bids her sons, her freemen, rise;
On righteous Heaven's avenging hand
She calls — my native land!

What will the minstrel's native land? —
  She'll crush the slaves of despots' power,
  Drive off the bloodhounds from her shore,
  And suckle freeborn sons once more,
Or lay them free beneath the sand.
That will my native land!

And hopes the minstrel's native land? —
  She hopes — she hopes! Her cause is just.
  Her faithful sons will wake — they must.
  In God Most High she puts her trust;
On his great altar leans her hand,
And hopes — my native land!

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We add two more from the same, — the Prayer during Battle, and the Cradle Song.

PRAYER DURING BATTLE.*

Father, I call on thee.
The roaring artillery's clould thicken round me,
The hiss and the glare of the loud bolts confound me;
Ruler of battles, I call on thee.
O Father, lead thou me.

O Father, lead thou me;
To victory, to death, dread Commander, O guide me;
The dark valley brightens when thou art beside me;
Lord, as thou wilt, so lead thou me.
God, I acknowledge thee.

God, I acknowledge thee;
When the breeze through the dry leaves of autumn is moaning,
When the thunder-storm of battle is groaning,
Fount of mercy, in each I acknowledge thee.
O Father, bless thou me.

O Father, bless thou me;
I trust in thy mercy, whate'er may befall me;
'T is thy word that hath sent me; that word can recall me.
Living or dying, O bless thou me.
Father, I honor thee.

Father, I honor thee;
Not for earth's hoards or honors we here are contending;
All that is holy our swords are defending;
Then falling, and conquering, I honor thee.
God, I repose in thee.

God, I repose in thee;
When the thunders of death my soul are greeting,
When the gashed veins bleed, and the life is fleeting,
In thee, my God, I repose in thee.
Father, I call on thee.

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* Charles Theodore Körner was a young German soldier, scholar, poet, and patriot. He was born at Dresden, in the autumn of 1791, and fell in battle for his country at the early age of twenty-two.

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CRADLE SONG.

On thy mother's bosom gently rest thee,
Sweetest babe; from sin and sorrow free,
Calmly dream; nor care nor grief molest thee;
That soft breast is all the world to thee.

Joyous hours! ah, still fond memory, dreaming,
Through your blissful scenes delights to rove;
O'er life's ocean-waste, still dimly beaming,
Shines the star-light of a mother's love.

Thrice, in this brief life, to man 't is given
In Love's arms so sweetly to repose;
Thrice on earth to taste the joy of heaven,—
Bliss that from no earthly fountain flows.

With her earliest blessing when she greets him,
See in smiles the blooming infant dressed!
Though the world with smiles of welcome meets him,
Love still holds him to the mother's breast.

Soon are dimmed gay childhood's sunny glances,
Clouds are gathering round youth's untried way;
Now, once more fond Love with smiles advances,
And the wanderer hails her cheering ray.

Yet the storm-wind smites the fairest flower,
And the proudest heart in dust must lie.
Love, an angel, cheers man's closing hour,
And in triumph bears him up on high.

We conclude with "Körner's Funeral," by Dr. Follen.

KÖRNER'S FUNERAL.

Mid the sound of trump and drum,
Angels called, "Come, Körner, come!"
And the hero's heart must break.
Break, ye hearts, ye eyes, with sorrow;
Faith's glad light a radiant morrow
From this night of tears shall wake.

* Every one familiar with the original, must feel that, were it in this piece alone, the lamented author has truly adorned the literature of his native coun-

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Germany, thy mourning mother,
Feels each wound of thine, O brother:
  Bleeds with thee, and triumphs now.
Throned a king, our souls behold thee;
Bloody-purple robes enfold thee,
  Crowned with holy thorns thy brow.

Tuneless now the strings are lying;
Yet on every tongue, undying,
  In each bosom lives the lay.
Life's dim lamp alone is shrouded,
While the star of love, unclouded,
  Blazes to a flood of day.

Jesus, God's pure love, inspire
This our nation; one desire,
  Glowing, through all bosoms breathe;
And to us, when we have striven
Like our brother, be there given
  Crown of thorns and starry wreath.

C. C. F.

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try, and erected a peculiarly appropriate and most worthy monument to the memory of his young countryman, whose spirit and prineiples, though in a different sphere of action, his own life so nobly and faithfully expressed. Dr. Follen was called to that harder strife and sorer struggle, to which "the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive," summons His servants. And may we not well believe that the prayer, with which the poem alluded to closes, has been fulfilled for our revered friend and teacher, — that he, too, has found the "crown of thorns a starry wreath?"

I have heard Dr. Follen speak of Körner, and particularly of his patriotic songs, in the most enthusiastic terms. He said there was nothing of the kind equal to them in the literature of the world. He spoke with a peculiar emphasis of the young author, as one who seemed really inspired.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The School and the Schoolmaster; a Manual for the use of Teachers, Employers, Trustees, Inspectors, &c., &c., of Common Schools. In Two Parts. Part I. by ALONZO POTTER, D. D., of New York. Part II. by GEORGE B. EMERSON, A. M., of Massachusetts. Boston: Wm. B. Fowle & N. Capen. 1843.

WE regard this volume as one of the most important publications of the day. Its influence is already extensively felt in some of the States of the Union, and is to be, we doubt not, from one extreme to another. Treating of a subject which lies at the very foundation of public and private welfare, of national greatness and prosperity, of social progress and individual virtue and happiness, it has already commended itself to some of our public-spirited citizens, who, feeling its value to the people at large, but especially to all who are connected with our public schools, have caused copies of it to be gratuitously distributed to all teachers and superintendents of Common Schools throughout the two States of Massachusetts and New York. The last named State has been furnished with eleven thousand copies, by that "munificent friend and patron of Common Schools, the Hon. James Wadsworth, of Genessee, New York;" the first has been furnished by Martin Brimmer, Esq., the present Mayor of Boston, with three thousand five hundred copies. By Mr. Wadsworth, a copy has likewise been sent to each of the Governors of the several States. This is as it should be. Such a work ought not to be left to force its way into the community unaided. By the wise and thoughtful liberality of these gentlemen, an extent of circulation has been given to it, in a few months, which otherwise it would have taken as many years to effect. But it should fall into the hands of many persons beside those to whom it has already been sent. Each member of School Committees, clergymen throughout the interior of the State, parents, — such as can afford to purchase *any* books, — and the pupils of the Normal Schools, at the time of their leaving them for the active employment of teaching, should in one way or another, by gratuitous distribution, or by editions of the work being issued at a merely nominal price, in conformity to the cheap printing of the present day, be put in possession of a copy.

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The work is very properly introduced by a brief advertisement or recommendation by the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, Mr. Mann, who observes, "that the range and compass of the subjects embraced in the volume, and the masterly manner in which they are treated, commend it to the careful perusal of every person engaged in the sacred cause of Education, of every lover of his country, of every friend of mankind." Old as the subject of education is, and much as has, of late years, been written and published upon it, this is still an original work. Excellent and instructive as preceding treatises may have been, we believe none is to be found at once so profound and so intelligible, dealing so thoroughly with principles, and yet so ample and minute in its practical detail, as the volume before us. The subject is handled with so much dignity, and so deep a feeling of its vast importance to society and the human soul, that one feels as he reads that no office for honor and usefulness can compare with that of the Teacher; and then again the whole theory and practice of successful instruction is laid open with such distinctness, — all the little difficulties of method are so cleared up, — the steps, by which the young teacher is to gain his object, are described with such fidelity, that one feels, also, as if, with this book in his hand, he might, with comparative ease, — at least with a sense of security from injurious mistakes, — enter upon the labors of the honorable vocation. We cannot well imagine a higher satisfaction to be derived from a book, than we think the solitary teacher in the country, who has had no experience but his own to draw from, all whose methods are his own, many of which he oppressively feels to be false, but knows not where the difficulties lie, nor how to correct them, must experience, when for the first time he opens and reads this admirable manual. If he should not admit all to be just and true, if he should withhold his assent from either some of the principles advocated, or some of the precepts of instruction enforced, he would, nevertheless, find it as a whole to be an invaluable guide over a dark and difficult road, and would hail it with the joy a burdened traveller would greet the beacon-light of a far off hill-top.

The advertisement of Mr. Mann is followed by an introduction, in which some account is given of the origin and character of the Common School in our part of the country, of its early means of support, and of the improvements that have gradually been supplanting antiquated and imperfect methods. It closes with a statement of the general purposes of the work, and of its principal topics, and their order.

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"This volume is a contribution to the great work of school regeneration which is now in progress. It is offered with a deep sense, not only of the importance, but also of the difficulty of the undertaking. It is offered in the humble but earnest hope of being able to afford some suggestions which will prove useful, not only to teachers, but also to parents, inspectors, school commissioners, and other officers, as well as to the friends of education generally. During the last thirty years there has been much discussion, as well as experiment, in regard to different systems of public instruction. The best methods of providing well-qualified teachers, the relative efficacy of different modes of teaching and discipline, and the surest means of maintaining schools in a healthy and efficient state, have all been subjects of examination. It will be the object of this volume, avoiding mere conjecture or speculation, to collect such results and principles, as may seem to have been *settled* by the experience of the past. It will also aim at the cultivation, among all who are connected with schools, of a more adequate sense of their importance, and of a spirit of improvement and reform at once active and chastened.

It consists of Two Parts.

The First Part will treat of,

I. The Education of the People; its nature, object, importance, practicability, means, &c.

II. The Common School; its relation to other means of education, and to civilization.

III. The Present State of Common Schools.

IV. Means of Improvement." — pp. 14, 15.

The first Part is prepared, as the title page declares, by Professor Potter, of Union College, Schenectady, New York, whose name is sufficient warrant of thorough and intelligent treatment. We give the heads of the chapters, that the reader way obtain some tolerable idea of the character and contents of the volume. The first chapter, on the Education of the People, is divided into seven sections, with their subdivisions. The first section contains an answer to the question, what is Education? A summary of the principles affirmed and defended, on the subject, is given by the author.

"SEC. I. WHAT IS EDUCATION?

"Education is the due development of all the primitive powers, and susceptibilities of our nature.

"It is peculiarly necessary in youth, because then this nature is most plastic, and impressions made upon it are most lasting.

"It does not obliterate all original differences in character or inequalities in talent, but aims to modify and improve.

"Its object is rather to form a perfect character, than to qualify for any particular station or office.

"Man needs it the more, because he has few instincts, and because he is endowed with unbounded capabilities of improvement.

"*Intellectual* Education should aim, to make its subject, a successful learner, and teacher of truth.

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"*Moral* Education, to harmonize the contending impulses of our nature, and subject all to conscience and the moral law.

"*Æsthetical* Education, to refine the taste, regulate and exalt the imagination, and render both subservient, to energy of action, and purity of purpose.

"*Physical* Education, to perfect the delicacy of the senses, establish vigorous health, and form habits and impart knowledge calculated to preserve that health." — pp. 149, 150.

The second, third, and fourth sections discuss the prevailing errors in regard to Education. The fifth describes the Education needed by the American people, in which will be found a great many valuable suggestions, and of immediate bearing on our national character and prosperity. The sixth and seventh sections are on its importance to the individual and to society, where is demonstrated with great force the effect of Education in diminishing crime and poverty, and increasing not only the moral, but even the physical power of the individual, making him both a better man, and more capable also to obtain a livelihood.

The second chapter of this first part is devoted to common schools. Section first describes the relation of common schools to other means of education; second and third, the present state of common schools; fourth, fifth, and sixth, the improvement of common schools.

Under the head of "The Education needed by the American People," we are glad to perceive that a more "humanizing and elegant education" than now anywhere obtains, is earnestly contended for, and that music is rated highly among the refining agencies which we should be anxious to bring into universal action. In reply to an objection sometimes made to music in common with the other fine arts, that its tendency is to render the character effeminate, and to pander to the lower passions, Professor Potter presents a remark of much force.

"Among a volatile and dissipated people, the arts would doubtless be rendered subservient to amusement and licentious indulgence. It would be at the expense, however, of their highest excellence. On the other hand, among a grave people, charged with serious cares, they would be likely to take a different type, and contribute, as music has always done in Germany since the days of Luther, to the refinement of taste and the strengthening of moral feeling. The greatest composers of that land have consecrated their genius to the service of religion. Haydn, whose memory is so honored, was deeply religious. His Oratorio of the Creation was produced, as he himself tells us, at a time when he was much in prayer. In writing musical scores, he was accustomed to place, both at the beginning and at the close of each one, a Latin motto, expressive of his profound feeling, that he was depend-

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ant on God in all his efforts, and that to His glory should be consecrated every offspring of his genius." — pp. 77, 78.

We cannot think that mischief is to be apprehended from this source by a people like ourselves; and if any were to ensue, it would be seen only in the large capitals, while throughout the greater masses of the population, scattered over the face of the country, its influence could hardly be any other than purely beneficial.

Part Second of this volume, by Mr. George B. Emerson, is devoted to the Schoolmaster, as the First was to the School. This we regard as the most original as well as the most valuable portion, because it is all the result of a very large experience in the office of teacher. Not that it is a mere record of management, and method, and studies. A discriminating philosophical mind is seen throughout, that gives a reason, whether satisfactory or not, for everything that is either adopted or rejected. The old is not retained because it is old, nor the new adopted because it is new; nor any changes recommended either in the manner of teaching or governing, or in the structure and interior arrangement of school-houses, which either experience has not proved to be advantageous, or for which the best *a priori* reasons are not suggested. The style is simple but expressive, and conveys the meaning of the author in a direct, always intelligible, and forcible manner. The objects of the work are, in his own words, as follows: —

"The objects of the following work are,

1. To point out what qualities are important in a teacher.
2. To show by what course of study and thought [he should discipline himself.
3. To point out particularly the duties of the teacher of a common school.
4. To recommend some modes of performing them; that is, to speak of the studies, modes of teaching, discipline, and government of such a school." — p. 276.

In conformity to these subjects, the work is divided into four Books, and each Book subdivided into Chapters. The subjects of the Chapters are, 1st. under the general head of *Qualities* — of the teacher, — the mental and moral qualities by which he should be distinguished; — he should be patient, hopeful, cheerful, frank and unsuspicious, kind and just, a lover of order, religious, conscientious, firm. As sound health is essential to the teacher, a chapter is devoted to rules on the subject. The Second Book is devoted to *Studies* with which a teacher should be familiar; with a notice of the advantages of the teacher's

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life. The Third Book is on the duties which the teacher owes to himself, his pupils, his fellow teachers, to parents, and the community. Book Fourth is on the school, organization and instruction, entering with great minuteness into the best methods of managing the young, and imparting knowledge to them — an invaluable chapter to the young teacher. Not less, but even more so, is the last chapter of this Book, on Government, a subdivision of which is occupied by a very full consideration of the motives by which a teacher should attempt to influence the mind of his pupil. It is every way a noble chapter, proceeding upon the highest principles of religion, and, together with the author's lecture on Moral Education, lately published, sets forth an education which, if happily it might be realized, would soon bring a new expression upon the face of society, and give reasonable hope of a millennium. The last Book is on the School-house, situation, size, position, interior arrangement, light, warming, and ventilation.

In the chapter on *motives*, Mr. Emerson, we gladly notice, abjures and discards emulation. After speaking of the fear of shame, he says: —

"The same objection lies against *emulation*. It operates with great force upon noble natures that need no excitement, and passes over those dull ones whom it should be the business of discipline to move.

"It must be admitted that it is a most powerful motive, perhaps the most powerful, that can be put in action. To be at the head of a class can never be an object of indifference to a child of talent, if that is held out as the greatest good. Still less, to be at the head of a school. To gain a medal, when only one or a very few are given, and where the number of competitors is great, may be made to assume, to the eye of a child, an importance greater than any other object for which he can live. But it sacrifices the higher powers to the lower, — the moral to the intellectual. The object of the teacher ought not to be to make as good scholars as possible by any means whatsoever, but to elevate the being as highly as possible. If the scholar is made at the expense of the man, an incalculable injury is inflicted. The teacher capable of sacrificing the moral character of his pupil to his appearance at an exhibition, or his triumph at an annual examination, is totally unworthy of his office.

"Emulation, when exercised among companions and equals, almost necessarily excites the worst passions, envy, jealousy, hatred, malice. I say *almost*, because I believe that there are a few so noble in their nature, so raised above all selfishness, that they are able to see the prize, for which they have been long striving with all possible efforts, borne away by a rival, with no other feeling than gratification at his success and resignation to their own disappointment. But these are *very few* I might, therefore, without departing from the truth, leave out the qualifying expression, and say, that *emulation*, as it usually operates, ***excites the worst passions of the human heart.***

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"As to the effect produced on the character by emulation, an obvious and important question to be asked is, whether the habits formed by it are most likely to lead to the regular, quiet, and conscientious discharge of the dialy duties of life. Many of those who have at school been stimulated to great efforts by it, lay aside their books and their habits of study when they leave school. If it thus fails to produce permanent effects in the things about which it has been employed, is it likely to produce a healthy effect upon the whole character? Would a woman, whose character had been formed under the influence of this motive, be more likely than another to endeavor to form in her children simplicity of character, humility, the charity which does good for the sake of its object, the love of truth for its own sake, the principle of doing right because it is right? Would the desire of distinction, and of surpassing others, be most likely to suggest her highest duties as a wife? Will it best fit her for her duties to herself and her Maker? If they had any effect, would they not tend to lead her astray? And can those motives, which are obviously wrong for children of one sex, be the best possible for those of the other? If these doubts are not wholly unfounded, what an infinite amount of unnecessary evil must be created by emulation! To say nothing of the envy and hatred it often engenders, cankering instead of purifying the heart of infancy and childhood, — to what cause more than this, acting so generally in schools, and even in families, can be attributed the insane desire, so prevailing among us, of outstripping each other in wealth, in houses, in dress, in everything which admits of external comparison? To what else, in an equal degree, can we attribute the notorious profligacy of so many political leaders? The desire of excelling has been, from childhood, so fostered, that it has become an irrepressible passion, rushing to its end, regardless of all principle and of all consequences.

"It doubtless does good as well as harm. But the question is, whether we cannot secure the good from the action of higher motives, while we avoid the evil. The best men have been above its influence. Emulation may have formed such men as Cæsar and Napoleon. How little could it have done to form Washington! The noblest deeds and the highest works, those which have advanced society in civilization and truth, have been produced under the influence of entirely different and higher motives.

"Of whom was Galileo *emulous*, when, having gone beyong wha twas already known, he stretched out, by the help of experiment and geometry, into the vast unexplored ocean of mechanical and astronomical truth? Of whom was Kepler *emulous*, when, from the collected observations of many years, he deduced those famous laws which he did not expect the minds of his own age even to comprehend, but which were to serve as a foundation for the system of the universe? What *rivalry* stimulated Newton, when, in the seclusion of his own study, he established those immortal principles of philosophy, which his friends could with difficulty persuade him to give to the world? What *emulation* taught Archimedes mechanics, or Pascal geometry, or Shakspeare poetry? What *rivalry* set George Fox or John Wesley to preach; or launched the Santa Maria or the Mayflower upon the waves of the Atlantic?

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"It must be admitted that we cannot entirely exclude the action of emulation. Children can hardly be assembled for any purpose without its showing itself. But nothing need be done to strengthen it. It is already a sufficiently powerful element in the character of every child; and the excessive prominence which is given to it by its being constantly addressed, destroys the balance of the powers and sacrifices the moral being to the intellectual." — pp. 504 – 507.

If one should still doubt on the matter, and be inclined to think the evil of this motive to be overrated, let him try the experiment once with two or three of his own children, and we defy him, if he has a heart within him as big as an olive, to ever try it a second time. Its evil would glare upon him with a reality so frightful, he would have no courage to encounter it again. We consider education, both the higher and lower, to approach its perfect condition, just as it succeeds in accomplishing its aims by the application of motives of a more exalted kind. But as emulation is the cheapest, easiest, and, at first, the most effectual appeal that can be made to the mind of a child, — the sharpest, fiercest spur that can be ground into a reluctant or sluggish nature, — so it will be long before the use of so powerful and convenient a weapon will be abandoned. But by and by, he who shall employ it as his chief or only implement, will come to be looked upon as no better than a moral assassin.

The last Book, on the School-house, gives excellent counsel as to the way in which the buildings should be put up, and the way in which they should be made agreeable to the pupil. Several drawings are given of pretty designs both for the school-house and grounds, which we should be glad to see adopted. There is every reason why they should no longer be the dismal hovels of darkness and dirt, in which the past generations of New England have for the most part been educated, to which the mind of the grown-up boy never reverts with a single pleasant association, unless good fortune gave him a teacher whose high attainments and qualities made the discomforts of the place to be forgotten. But all this is fast changing for the better. School-houses are building here and there on better plans, more pleasing to the taste, and of more convenient arrangement within — warm in winter, and well ventilated. With these improvements, the morals and manners of the pupils improve also. A boy will behave better, and the school be more easily managed in a neat, pretty apartment. The beastly habit of spitting might in this way be cut up by the roots. Visiting a school not long since, we found this habit regularly held up to the children as an abomination, and the floor was perfectly free of the nui-

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sance. A good common school is *not* good unless it is a school of good manners.

With feelings of sincere gratitude to the gentleman who projected the plan of this work, and has distributed it so widely,—and to the other gentlemen, who in the midst of heavy cares have still found heart and time to prepare it, we wish it well on its way of beneficence through every State of the Union.

History of Beverly, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from its settlement in 1630 *to* 1842. By Edwin M. Stone. Boston: James Munroe and Company. 1843. 12mo. pp. 324.

The history of a single New England town does not commonly find many readers, except such as are lured by some local attachment. To these may be added a few antiquaries, scattered through a State, who are curious to look into the management of our little municipalities in primitive times, and to mark their progress. But the number of those who may be supposed to feel an interest, more or less direct, in a town or village of more than two centuries' growth, is far greater than would be imagined by one who should compute it by means of a moment's conjecture, or a casual thought. Such is the case in regard to Beverly. We could mention a large number of persons, and that probably a small proportion of the aggregate number who were either born there, or who trace their origin to the place through two or more generations, or who cherish a regard for it arising from ties of kindred or friendship; but who live in different parts of Massachusetts, and in other States.

Apart from the gratification derived by individuals, from a faithful history of a town, we regard such a history still more important in another particular. It is by means of a full history of the parts of a Commonwealth, that valuable materials are furnished for the history of the whole. Facts may thus be traced to their veritable sources, which might otherwise be imperfectly or erroneously stated, and incidents worthy of record be brought to light, which might otherwise be hidden or overlooked.

Mr. Stone has performed his labor diligently. He has made good use of his facts, presented them in an unostentatious manner, and clothed them in a simple style.

The "Revolutionary Period" forms a prominent part of the history. It appears that Beverly "furnished more men, and was at greater expense in carrying on the war, than almost any other town, in proportion to its ability." Of its citizens who

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were distinguished in the councils of the Commonwealth, during that trying period, George Cabot was foremost. Col. Ebenezer Francis, who fell at Ticonderoga, in conflict with the British troops, was alike distinguished in the field, and some very affecting memorials of him are preserved by Mr. Stone. The biographical sketches of these, and of other persons who bore an active part in municipal and political affairs, or were entitled to notice for their professional respectability and individual worth, are interesting portions of his work.

Among the most remarkable men, for the variety of services performed for the town and the Commonwealth, was Robert Hale. He began the practice of medicine in 1723, and soon acquired great celebrity in his profession. In the course of a few years he was called simultaneously or successively, "to fill the various offices of surveyor, selectman, assessor, town clerk, treasurer, and chairman of the school committee," besides being a magistrate, collector of excise for the county, and a representative to the general court for thirteen years. In 1745 he received the commission of colonel, and commanded a regiment in the expedition against Louisburg. He was appointed by the legislature, in 1747, commissioner to New York, to adopt measures for "the general defence"; and in 1755, he was sent by Governor Shirley as an agent to the government of New Hampshire, for procuring aid in the meditated attack on Crown Point. Last of all, he was appointed, by Governor Barnard, sheriff for the county of Essex. In the midst of his various secular occupations, he took a leading part in the ecclesiastical affairs of the town. In March, 1735, "the church voted, by a small majority," to adopt the Cambridge platform. In the following month, the vote was reconsidered, and a committee was appointed, of which Mr. Hale was chairman, "to peruse and examine the platform, and to report such explanations of any part of it as they might think proper." The committee soon afterwards "reported that the church should accept the platform, reserving the liberty of receiving certain articles in *their own sense*, which report was accepted."

The ministers of the old parish in Beverly, during the latter part of the last century, were Joseph Willard, who became President of the University in Cambridge, in 1781, and Joseph McKean, who became the first President of Bowdoin College, in 1802.

Among the intimate friends of President Willard, who still lived in Beverly, after his removal to Cambridge, were Joshua Fisher, the scientific physician, Nathan Dane, the eminent jurist and statesman, and Moses Brown and Israel Thorndike, distin-

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guished merchants. These gentlemen thus became interested in the University, and their peculiar attachment to it, from their respect to its head, may have been the remote cause of the benefactions which it afterwards received from them respectively.

The brief and discriminative biographical sketches of the great and good men of Beverly, who lived respected and honored, as benefactors to the town and to the public, are not among the least excellences of Mr. Stone's history; and we cheerfully recommend it to the notice of all who would derive instruction from the examples of the wise, beneficent, and virtuous, who have ceased from their labors, but live in the memory of their benevolent deeds.

Familiar Address, delivered at the Social Meeting of the Members of the Liberal Society, on the evening of March 16th, 1843. By WILLIAM B. O. PEABODY, Minister of the Society. Springfield: C. E. White. 1843.

THE title of this Address is not fully descriptive of the occasion on which it was delivered, and we therefore quote a brief paragraph which immediately follows it.

"On the evening of March 16th, the members of the Liberal Society assembled in a social party, at the house of the minister, many of them bearing generous and valuable presents to him and his family, and all bringing with them a spirit of cordial kindness and good will. In connexion with devotional exercises, the following plain and familiar address was made. On the succeeding evening, the children of the society under the age of fourteen, were assembled in the same manner, in a happy and animated party. They were also addressed by the minister, in connexion with services of devotion."

These few lines describe one of the most cheering scenes of which these modern times have afforded us any example. Whether the custom, of which this social meeting gives us the first hint, of bearing gifts to the house of the minister, is one that prevails generally in the valley of the Connecticut, or whether it originated in the present instance, we have no means of knowing. But whether common or not, it is a custom of good observance, not only or chiefly, as our readers we trust will believe, because of the gifts, but because of that spirit of a genuine Christian fellowship and friendship which it tends to foster and extend. The presents, as manifestations of an attachment which needs some expression beside words, may well be esteemed as invaluable. Given in an undoubted spirit of

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affection, they can injure no one's self-respect, nor give anything but pleasure, save where a weak and foolish pride has usurped the place, not only of a true humility, but of genuine magnanimity. One can easily imagine relations between individuals, where a gift falling into the hand would scorch like a burning coal, if the mind so far mastered its feelings as to receive it. One can easily conceive a strong feeling, and a just one too, to lie against presents which usage in a manner compels people to offer, and along with which there goes no good will or kind feeling. But these are not the conditions under which the clergyman receives gifts from his people. They are, with the fewest exceptions, testimonies of regard which are more than voluntary, — which the spirit of love extorts from them, and will not be otherwise satisfied. To what true lover was a gift ever burdensome? and when was its reception held a humiliation? In the case of generous souls the pleasure is equal, — the balance of equality is never seen to be shaken. The true minister is always giving and doing more than the strict letter of his contract requires. A true people are ever giving and doing more than could be exacted of them. Whose just self-respect is injured? We confess that the scene at Mr. Peabody's, as the mind conceives it, presents itself with all its accompaniments, as beautiful and affecting in the highest degree, — beautiful and affecting in the proof given of the existence of a mutual confidence and respect, such as is rarely seen. It may often exist, but we are rarely permitted to see, as here, its proof.

The address, perfectly appropriate in every word as in its whole tone, is a familiar recital of the principal incidents of the Pastor's ministry, a picture of his earlier trials, and his later peace, a statement of the principles and methods according to which he deemed it best for his people, and for the cause of that form of Christianity he expounds, to conduct his ministry. In regard to the course adopted, of refraining, during the whole period of twenty years, from doctrinal and controversial preaching, there will be different judgments. Yet, the fact that the issue has been one of entire success, must lead those who would have been prompt to blame, to pause at least, before they condemn. The testimony and experience of Mr. Peabody are on this point of great value. He thus shows his practice, and gives his opinion upon it, at the close of a twenty years' trial.

"As soon as I took charge of the pulpit, a question rose up before me. Should I consider it my duty to explain and extend the Liberal opinions, or should I devote myself to the personal improvement of the members of my society, trusting that the truth, with respect to doctrines,

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would make its own way in the public mind? In pursuing the former course I should have struck the key-note of the general feeling; zeal of this kind excites a ready sympathy, and the want of it is regarded as tameness; such a course would have added more to our numbers than any other, and many plausible reasons might have been given to show that it was the right one: it would have been easier also for myself: I remember being told by a distinguished physician that he was seldom consulted by controversial preachers: their sermons were written without any of that labor of mind which wears students down. But I could not persuade myself that this was the way of duty. I knew that as fast and far as party passions are excited, devotion and charity are apt to forsake the breast; I was well aware that many are made Unitarians, Calvinists, Baptists, and sectarians of every name, without being made Christians by the same conversion. 'I therefore dotermined,' if it is not presumption in me to use the words, 'I therefore determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified;' since men were sent into the world, not to put on the livery of a party, but to lay the foundations of character in preparation for immortal life. I would always spend the best of my strength to impress this solemn and indispensable duty on all whom my voice could reach.

"In looking back upon this determination at the distance of more than twenty years, I see in it nothing to regret: but I do see in it a strong reason for gratitude to the society, which, in such times of excitement, permitted me to pursue a course, so unpopular, obscure, and unlikely to add to their numbers. I have been grateful to them for many things, but most of all for this. It is not every society which would have consented to it, though perhaps in these peaceful times, the present generation cannot understand how great a sacrifice of feeling was necessary to receive the fire of other sects without returning it, to keep the white flag flying in the midst of war, and to maintain that moderation which requires strength of character and principle, but which is treated by partizans with supreme disdain. But whatever the sacrifice may have been at the time, I am persuaded that no one repents it now. They have lived to see that 'he who goeth forth weeping, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless return rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.'" — pp. 6–8.

After speaking briefly of early discouragements and fears, Mr. Peabody proceeds to state his practice in relation to the old vexed question of Exchanges, then in relation to the Temperance movement, then in relation to Abolitionism of which he thus speaks: —

"With respect to slavery, I declared to you from the beginning that I believed in the duty and practicability of emancipation: but I never had any sympathy with the coarse Philippics of one party of Abolitionists nor the political calculations of the other. I was the advocate of Colonization, because it offers at present the only way that I know for the emancipation of slaves. That it will ever relieve this country from the evil that oppresses it, I of course do not anticipate; but it has a right to be fully and fairly tried; and I detest and deplore the exclu-

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sive spirit which makes us resist and condemn those who attempt to do good in a path different from our own. Let every man serve the cause of humanity in the manner which his judgment and conscience approve: for Divine Providence will never suffer any well meant efforts to do permanent injury to that cause; if made in the right spirit, they will result in blessing to himself and his fellow-men." — pp. 10, 11.

It will be curious to younger men to know the literary habits of a writer so distinguished for the most winning qualities of style. He says: —

"Since I am speaking of matters relating to myself, let me take this opportunity to say something in relation to my habits of writing which ought to be understood. I do not believe that anything worth reading or hearing can be produced without labor; and the labor of writing wears upon the nerves and exhausts the spirits more perhaps than any other. Let any man sit down to prepare an address for some public occasion, and he will have an idea of this labor. Doubtless it becomes easier by habit, but the effect of routine and the perpetual recurrence of the demand once if not twice in every week create a difficulty on the other side. My own habit has been, never to sit down to consider what I shall write, as many do. I find that my mind, such as it is, acts most freely away from the study and in the presence of nature. I therefore construct in my own mind an exact image of everything which I intend to write; and this, when completed, can either be spoken or written as the case requires. My sermons are thus written in my mind during my walks in the fields, the Cemetery, or the garden, and when matured, are committed to paper in very little time. This has given the impression that I write easily and rapidly, when in truth, I have no advantage in this respect, except perhaps that of a better system, which, after the experience of years, I would recommend to every writer, whatever his profession may be." — pp. 11, 12.

No doubt this is the true method. A writer will hardly, at the same time be a clear, consecutive thinker, and the master of a flowing style, who adopts any other. By such perfect possession of a theme before writing, a person becomes a good extemporizer, and a good writer by the same process. To write before thinking is to be neither.

The pamphlet closes with the following lines, which, we may presume, are from the same hand.

Bright eyes and cheerful voices
  In the Pastor's home to-night!
The youthful heart rejoices,
  The burdened one grows light;
For all with him are bending
  In sympathy of praise
To God, whose love descending,
  Has crowned them all their days.

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'T was not with celebrations,
Nor with exulting hands,
Our church's deep foundations
Were set where now it stands;
Upon our work depressing
No smile of kindness shone,
Nor word of Christian blessing
Came answering to our own.

But soon, our trials ending,
Our triumph followed fast;
The star of hope ascending
Its morning promise cast:
It still our path enlightens
With soul-inspiring ray,
That ever towers and brightens
Up to the perfect day.

Yet, when we thus assemble,
And all that path review,
The firmest well may tremble
To think what Death can do.
The loved ones of our number,
The holiest and the best
Are sunk in that calm slumber,
That gives the weary rest.

But sons, their sires succeeding,
Each vacant place shall fill,
In all these changes reading
The lessons of His will,
Who spreads his banner o'er us
With waving folds of love,
And gilds the scene before us
With mercy from above.

Now, for the near communion
Which binds all hearts in one,
For Heaven's delightful union
In this cold world begun,
For that glad Faith which raises
Our dead to life again,
Let the Pastor breathe his praises,
And the People say Amen!

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The Confessions of St. Augustine. Boston: E. P. Peabody. 1843. 12mo. pp. 385.

We can see no good reason either for, in the first place, translating these confessions of Augustine, or, in the second place, republishing them in this country. It is a book simply curious, and in its own language accessible to all who ever need to know its contents. As for the confessions, properly so called, like the worst of Gibbon's notes, they were fitly buried in the obscurity of a learned tongue. We cannot imagine what good end it can serve either old or young to pore over such details. We do not doubt the sincerity of the Saint, nor his piety, nor the reality of his conversion; but when he had written his book for his own edification, he would have done better to burn it than trouble posterity with it. The same moral objection may justly be urged against it, that lies against many of the modern works of fiction. As for the theology of the volume, it is mere raphsody. As it is plain he did not know his own meaning, it is little likely that his readers will be greatly enlightened. Dealing with such entities as space, time, creation, and evil, it would not be strange if now and then there were an imperfect conception, or an obscure expression; but the metaphysics of St. Augustine will to most, who may attempt to unravel them, appear a mass of mingled confusion and contradiction. To some minds fond of the misty and undefined, it may all be very edifying; and just as in dying embers or the clouds they fancy they behold all sorts of glorious and beautiful shapes, so in the same way their lively imaginations may see in the incoherencies of the Bishop all the great truths of philosophy and religion. A learned critic says of him; "that the accuracy and solidity of his judgment were by no means proportionable to his eminent talents, and that upon many occasions he was more guided by the violent impulse of a warm imagination than by the cool dictates of reason and prudence. Hence that ambiguity which appears in his writings, and which has sometimes rendered the most attentive readers uncertain with respect to his real sentiments; and hence also the just complaints which many have made of the contradictions that are so frequent in his works, and of the levity and precipitation with which he set himself to write upon a variety of subjects, before he had examined them with a sufficient degree of attention and diligence."

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An Elementary Treatise on the Structure and Operations of the National and State Governments of the United States; designed for the Use of Schools and Academies, and general Readers. By CHARLES MASON, A. M., Counsellor at Law. Boston: David H. Williams. 1842.

WE have found nothing so much to our mind for popular use, as this brief yet comprehensive work. It is condensed to the severest brevity. Some might think that too much is contained in the two hundred and three pages to which the body of the work is confined. We think not so. The great mass of readers, into whose hands it was intended to fall, and for whose use its author designed it, have but little time for the acquisition of such information as is here contained, and hence need it very much condensed. The brevity of the work is its great merit, — its clearness is its greatest. The writer has succeeded in making every part plain, notwithstanding the pressure with which he has condensed it.

We hope this book will find its way into every citizen's hands. It gives a brief sketch of the origin of our national constitution. This is followed by an account of the proceedings of legislative bodies, the rules by which they are governed, and the processes by which laws are enacted. We are introduced to the proceedings of committees, the order of business, the rules of debate. Then we are informed of the powers of the judiciary, the organization of courts, the construction of juries, the processes of trial, — and all so clearly set forth, that one feels competent after reading to enter court and manage his own cause. The author next introduces us to Congress, and all its rules of proceeding are lucidly presented before us. There are also appended to the work twenty pages of tables of great value. In short, it is just the work for those who wish, at a small expense, to obtain a knowledge of the nature and operation of the governments, state and national, under which they live, and to discharge understandingly the duties of a citizen. Let it be introduced into schools, and our young men would enter upon life ready to meet the demand, which their country makes upon them, of understanding its structure and maintaining its integrity.

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Edward's First Lessons in Grammar; by the Author of "Theory of Teaching." Boston: Thomas H. Webb & Co. 1843. 12mo. pp. 108.

If any reader has opened the "Theory of Teaching" with prejudice arising from its title, that prejudice must have been wholly removed by the perusal of the work. It is not an abstract scheme, a cold, philosophizing system; but a theory growing out of observation and experience, and founded in sympathy. The great object of the author is to show, by example, how the teacher, in advancing the pupil, should make everything subsidiary to the love of the pursuit, and should proceed from timely encouragement to the creation of that self-reliance on the part of the learner, which makes him feel that he is doing something for himself.

The "First Lessons in Grammar" proceed on the same system. The book is not a formal manual, but the teacher and pupil work together in its production, by oral, synthetic instruction on the one part, and the writing out of examples on the other. No doubt what is thus learned is better understood, and is acquired with less weariness, than by the mere exercise of memory in learning rules and illustrations from a dry elementary grammar.

In the hands of an intelligent teacher, this little work may be used with much advantage, either by itself or in aid of lessons contained in more technical works for beginners in the study of language. To the author belongs the praise of ingenuity devoted with success to a useful purpose, and consecrated by the sympathy which she so manifestly inspires in the tender objects of her culture.

Our Country safe from Romanism. A Sermon delivered at the opening of the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia, at its Sessions in the Western Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, April, 1841. By the Rev. Thomas Brainerd, Pastor of the Third Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia. L. R. Bailey. 1843.

Eight years ago there was a wide-spread alarm, existing especially in the Presbyterian church and among their Congregational brethren in New England, at the growth of Romanism. One would have supposed from the tone of the pulpit, that the Pope with his armies was at our very gates, and Protestantism at its last gasp. In a religious newspaper of a neighboring city, a series of very elaborate papers was written, and afterwards

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circulated in the form of a volume, to prove the existence of a huge conspiracy, in Austria we believe, for the subversion of both our Protestantism and our republicanism, and the establishment of despotism and Romanism on their ruins. We had supposed that as the few past years had given the lie to so many dismal forebodings and confident predictions, they had quieted everywhere the fears of the people, and that as we Protestants continued to maintain the proportion of seventeen millions to one, the apprehension of being speedily outnumbered and outvoted by the other party had wholly subsided. But it seems that in some parts of the country it is necessary still to argue the question, and we have here a long discourse of forty-five octavo pages, to prove that our "country is safe from Romanism." It is a thoroughly sensible discourse, and takes just views of the whole subject. This is the more gratifying, as its author is of the great Presbyterian church, which has been most alive to these fears of Popery. The proposition which he lays down as the theme of his sermon, and which he supports by a series of proofs, is this; "that existing causes furnish no ground to fear that Romanism will ever become the prevailing religion of this country." We have no room to spare for a minute account of the discourse, nor are there here any who need the confirmation which Mr. Brainerd's arguments would give them. He writes and reasons like a man of a truly Christian and liberal spirit, and if there are, perchance, any who partake of the fears which led to the delivery of the sermon, we commend it to their attention; it will not only put good reasons into their mouths, but give them the example of a cause argued with modesty, good temper, and a catholic spirit.

In denying the fact often stated of the frequent conversions of Protestants to the Roman Catholic faith, he gives his own experience during four years of extensive intercourse with Catholics, which is valuable.

"I was five years in Cincinnati, one of the strongholds of Romanism. Four years of that time I conducted two religious papers, one for adults and one for children. I had correspondents all over the central portion of the Great Valley, and yet I never knew personally one man, one woman, nor one child, to abandon Protestantism for Romanism. I doubt not there have been such conversions. I have seen accounts of such in Catholic periodicals. But not one either fell under my own eye, nor was ever brought to my notice by a correspondent, so far as I now remember. On the other hand, I have known many native Romanists introduced into the Protestant churches. One obscure clergyman, in a single revival, brought twenty Catholics hopefully converted into the fold of Christ.

"I take this occasion to say that in the West there is but little more reason to apprehend the controlling prevalence of Catholicism, than in

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the East. You may travel for days and weeks over that vast and beautiful region, without the vision of a Roman priest or a Roman chapel. In Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis, and here and there over the country, you will find large clusters of Romanists, but they are mostly poor foreigners from Germany and Ireland. Their influence, literary, pecuniary, social, and political, is very small; and in numbers they are as a drop in the bucket compared with the Protestant population.

"I know the eagle eye of Rome is fixed on the great Western Valley. I know that immense amounts of money are sent over to erect splendid cathedrals, and establish seminaries, to aid in its subjugation. I know a project is on foot to introduce Irish paupers, by thousands, to aid in the work. But I also know, that the true spirit of Protestantism nowhere beats with more energy than among the first settlers of the West. They may be tempted to abandon all concern for the soul in strife for the world. Their very independence and insulation from the fixed habits of the old States may expose them to strike out new paths, and run into new *isms*. But to give up their own judgment, and submit passively to the control of an Irish, French, or German priest, would be scouted by the most ignorant Protestant of the West. Hence, while Romanists here wield a vast and apparently dangerous machinery, they make in fact but few converts. Our Home Missions, if rightly sustained, will save the West. * * *

"One clergyman of our Presbytery tells us, that during his labors in this city, he has received into his church thirty converts from Romanism. Among the pew-holders of my own church, there are several who were educated in the Roman creed; and within the last few years, five persons brought up by Catholic parents have united with us, one of whom, under the best auspices, is now studying for the gospel ministry at Yale College.

"On the other hand, in this city I know personally but a single Protestant who has made a transition into the Roman church."—pp. 21–23.

On Political Idolatry. A Discourse delivered in the First Church in Roxbury, on Fast Day, April 6, 1843. By George Putnam, Minister of that Church. Published by request of the Parish. Boston: Crosby & Co. 1843.

Here is excellent medicine for hack-politicians, party tools, and self-seeking demagogues. The political sabbath was well occupied by the preacher in administering it to his people, many of whom no doubt needed it, and now must feel all the better for it. We trust that many editions will be the means of sending it abroad through the country, that the largest possible numbers may share the benefits of those who had the happiness to listen to it from the lips of the eloquent preacher. Our newspaper editors could not employ one or two of their columns more profitably for their readers than by filling them with this admirable discourse. If it should have the effect to clear out of the

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eyes of their readers a little of the dust some may have been amusing themselves with throwing in, no harm would be done.

When one reads a political sermon like this, eminent alike for truth and ability, he is at first led to regret that such topics do not more frequently find their way into the pulpit. But sermons of this kind are so apt to degenerate into mere vehicles of small party politics, instead of dealing with the great conservative principles of all governments, that we think the prejudice a good one, that permits them to be but rarely heard. The "little government Sunday," however, offers a fair opportunity for such discussions, and is with good judgment often devoted to them. We should offer quotations to bear out what we have said of this discourse, were it not that it will so soon find its way to our readers in a pamphlet or newspaper form.

The Four Pillars: or the Truth of Christianity demonstrated, in Four distinct and independent Series of Proofs; together with an Explanation of the Types and Prophecies concerning the Messiah. By Harvey Newcomb. Boston: Seth Goldsmith and Crocker & Brewster. 1842. 12mo. pp. 298.

This is a work on the evidences of Christianity, as its title indicates. Its aim is not to be either original or learned — but popular and useful. It is not, however, a sufficiently thorough treatise to obtain a very wide circulation, or come into very general use as a school book. For this last purpose it wants condensation and the rejection of the practical inferences and remarks which come better from the teacher.

It is a poor way to make a work on a subject that should be treated with scientific precision, to use for that purpose a series of sermons written and preached in the ordinary course of pulpit duty. It will rarely, however altered and improved, possess much value. On practical or devotional topics such discourses may be used to excellent effect; though even in this case, unless they go through a rigid process of weeding and pruning, winnowing and sifting, they will soon perish. The chaff will so abound over the grain, that after the generation of personal friends is gone, few will take the pains requisite to separate the one from the other. Nevertheless, for a time even such volumes may do great good; they will be read when better books would be passed by. But on subjects of a different sort — not higher, but different — subjects that require to be handled not by the affections, but by the intellect, to be enforced not by exclamations or declamations, but by logic, a very different mode of managing

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them must be adopted to secure the assent or respect of a reader. We do not know that the present volume had its origin in the manner supposed; that it had, is mere matter of inference.

Devotional Exercises for Common Schools. Boston: J. T. Buckingham. 1842.

An unexceptionable book. The Compiler in his preface thus describes it, which will give to those of our readers, who have not seen it, a clear notion of what it is.

"The first is a selection of short sentences of a didactic character, selected chiefly from the Book of Proverbs, each calculated to impress on the mind some important moral truth. These are to be read by the instructer, or by an advanced scholar appointed by the instructer.

"The second division is a selection from the Book of Psalms, arranged in a suitable manner to be read by the instructer, or one, whom he may appoint to perform that office, and the pupils. The portion assigned to the pupils is *generally* a response in sentiment, as well as in form, to that, which is read by the person, who leads in the service.

"The third division is selected chiefly from the Gospels, and embraces a complete narrative of the birth, ministry, death, and resurrection of the Founder of the Christian religion, with as copious extracts from his discourses and conversations as the limits of the book would admit. This portion is also to be read by the instructer, or some one under his direction.

"The Lord's prayer is then to be recited by all the pupils in concert, following the instructer." — pp. 5, 6.

A better plan could hardly be devised than this, and the execution is as good as the plan. It will win its way, we trust, into all the schools of Massachusetts.

The Baptismal Question. A Discussion of the Baptismal Question. Consisting of 1. *Hints to an Inquirer on the Subject of Baptism.* By Rev. Messrs. Cooke and Towne. 2. *Review of the "Hints."* By Rev. William Hague. 3. *Rejoinder to the Review.* By Rev. Messrs. Cooke and Towne. 4. *Examination of the Rejoinder.* By Rev. William Hague. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1842.

The volume comprises the pamphlets on the question of Baptism which appeared during the last year, in a controversy between the persons named in the title page. Those, who feel interested in the general subject, will find here the arguments usually urged on the two sides. Why so wide an interest is

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felt in the mere *manner* in which the same rite is administered, is not easy to explain, — especially as it appears, whether administered in one manner or another, or not at all, no longer to be regarded as an essential saving ordinance. Mr. Hague, for reasons which he gives, considers it of importance to rest in true and just views on this subject, but at the same time declares his opinion that "the observance of no outward rite is of saving efficacy." We could feel no more objection to any one mode of administering this rite, than to any one mode of observing the Lord's Supper, or of performing the outward office of prayer. Any manner that answered best the ends of devotion would be best.

Thoughts on Spiritual Subjects, translated from the Writings of Fenelon. Boston: Samuel G. Simpkins.

Everything of Fenelon is welcome. There are no portions of this little volume so valuable as the fragments and extracts already given in the Selections of Mrs. Follen; but it forms a pleasant supplement to that beautiful book. The translator rightly judges that much will seem to some minds vague and shadowy. But the charm about Fenelon is so positive, that all defects of this sort are overlooked and forgotten. It is his spirit for which the reader chiefly cares, and this pervades the whole alike. His very vocabulary — whether one clearly apprehend or not the exact sense — breathes of devotion and heaven. We are grateful to the translator for this new addition he has furnished to the pleasures of the lovers of this great divine.

Greek Lessons adapted to the Author's Greek Grammar; for the Use of Beginners. By E. A. Sophocles, A. M. Hartford. 1843. 18mo. pp. 116.

If one may judge of a school-book without having used it with classes, we should not hesitate to pronounce this a good book of its kind. There are explanatory notes, and the help they convey to the pupil seems to be what and where it is needed. The little volume closes with a vocabulary and directions for parsing Greek. Twenty-seven pages contain the text; the remainder is occupied by the notes and vocabulary. It is a neat volume, printed with a large, fair Greek type.

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A Paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer, with an Introduction on the Nature of Prayer. Boston: William Crosby & Co.

This is a volume of devotional thoughts, suggested by the different clauses of the Lord's prayer, the work of the deaf and dumb pupils of an Institution in the West of England. It is curious and interesting, as showing what is done by the training of these excellent Charities. A fine religious spirit pervades the book, with no touch of sectarian theology.

The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, April. This number contains six articles beside Critical Notices. The first is a translation from the French of an introductory lecture on the Elocution of the Pulpit, by Professor Adolphe Monod, attached to the Protestant Seminary in Montauban. It is full of valuable suggestions and good counsel for the student, as the following passage will show; but such directions would form anything else, rather than the manner which we term the French style of pulpit oratory.

"The delivery should be simple or natural. In speaking from the soul, one will speak simply; for the soul is simple. It is only the presence of man which can make us affected; when alone, we are always simple, for the single reason, that then we are ourselves. The accents of the soul are those of nature. It is these which we are to reproduce; and we must take care not to substitute for these the accents of conventional artifice, or of arbitrary choice. It is necessary that the hearer should recognise himself, and that the instinct of his nature should be satisfied with each of our inflections. In other words, we must speak, and not declaim. I have already said, Elevate, ennoble the tone of conversation and of common life, but while you elevate, do not forsake it. An able painter does not slavishly copy the traits of his model; he idealizes them, and transfers them to the canvass only after he has subjected them to a sort of transfiguration in his brain; but even while idealizing them, he so imitates them that they may be recognised at once. Thus it is, that a portrait may be a perfect likeness, and yet more beautiful than the original. The same thing occurs in good speaking. The tones of common parlance are embellished, and yet they are perfectly recognisable, because their essence is carefully preserved. But to declaim, to take a new tone because one is in the pulpit, in fine to speak as no one ever speaks, is a grievous fault, while, strange to say, it is a fault very common, very hard to avoid, and which perhaps no one of us escapes altogether. For it is far easier to assume a sustained and unaltering tone, than, step by step, to follow thought and sentiment in their infinite sinuosities; and then, there are never wanting hearers of bad taste, for whom the pomp of language is imposing. Nevertheless, Gentlemen, consulting only the human effect of your preaching, if this consideration were not unworthy of you, the man who *speaks* in the pulpit will rise above him who *declaims*. Even

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those who at first suffer themselves to be dazzled by the cadence of periods, and the outbreaks of voice, at length grow weary, and are less pleased with the artificial preacher, than with him whose very tones make them feel that he thinks all that he says. And what shall I say of the real and useful effect produced by these two preachers? How much more directly, nay, exclusively, will the latter find his way to the heart and conscience! How will his vehement parts be relieved by the calm and simple tone of his habitual manner! How much more truly will he be what he ought, in the sight both of God and of man, by continuing to be himself, and not stepping aside from truth in announcing truth! Yes, Gentlemen, if you would have a pulpit delivery which shall be dignified and Christian, and which shall make great impression, speak always with simplicity. Say things as you feel them. Put no more warmth into your manner than you have in your heart. This honesty in speaking, — allow me the expression, — will constrain you to introduce a more sincere, and a profounder warmth, which you would never have attained in any other way. It will, besides, have a salutary reaction on your writing, and even on your soul. For, displaying things as they are, it will bring your faults to light, and admonish you to correct them. I have spoken of the pulpit. If it had been proper here to speak of the stage, many similar observations might be made. Great actors no longer declaim; they speak. Talma, whom I have so often named, began by declaiming, as do others. An interesting circumstance made him feel the necessity of adopting a new manner, more conformed to nature; and from that day he became another man, in regard to his art, and produced extraordinary effects. Those who have heard him will tell you that the extreme simplicity of his playing astonished them at first, and that they were tempted to take him for a very ordinary man, whose only advantage over others consisted in a magnificent voice: but they were soon subdued by the power of nature, and the vivid impressions by which they were seized made them understand, that the very simplicity of his acting constituted its force as well as its originality." — pp. 206 – 208.

The other articles are the State of the Country, Psychology, Alison's Europe, Presbyterian Board of Education.

The Christian Review (*Baptist*) *for March* offers nine articles with notices of books, viz. The Life and Times of Baxter, Emmons's Works, Translation from Neander on the Life of the Early Christians, Immorality of Thought, Alison's Europe, Anglo-Saxon History and Literature, Historical Sketch of Chiliasm, Perkins's residence in Persia.

The Pathfinder, a weekly New York Journal, edited by Parke Godwin, Esq. It is formed on the model of the London Examiner, and Spectator, as to its outward form, and interior arrangement. In politics, it represents the extreme left of Democracy. Whether one likes all its doctrine, or not, he cannot fail to be struck with the talent shown in its articles, and in the general management of the paper.

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

JULY, 1843.

POSITION AND DUTIES OF THE NORTH WITH REGARD TO SLAVERY.

It has been common, both at the South and the North, to deny not only the duty, but the right of Northern men to discuss the subject of slavery. The attempt has been made to draw around the Africans in bondage a line of circumvallation, which philanthropy, sympathy, nay, not even calm, dispassionate investigation can cross with impunity. This line, however, we cannot hold sacred. For the Africans are within the pale of human brotherhood, which Christianity has marked for us; and the fact, that they are part and parcel of our own body politic, certainly cannot render them less our brethren. Nor, on the other hand, can the fact, that they belong to States which wield some of the attributes of independent sovereignty, rightfully exclude them from our sympathy, unless we have been wrong in sympathizing with the Greeks and Poles, and with the Asiatic tributaries of Great Britain, with whose oppressors we surely have as little political connection as with the Southern States of our own Confederacy. Is it said that the Constitution and laws of the Union preclude our action in the premises, and therefore should suppress our sympathy, or at least the free utterance of it? We deny that the Constitution or fundamental laws of the Union put this subject beyond the reach of our political action; and, if they did, and it should still appear that God had placed us under religious obligations to the enslaved, we cannot for a moment admit that human compacts

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or enactments are valid against the divine law. Is it peremptorily asserted, that we at the North have no responsibilities or duties with reference to slavery? We still will contend for the right of trying this question ourselves, inasmuch as the question of responsibility or of duty can never be answered by others in our stead. We say not at the outset that it is our right or duty to act upon this subject; but merely maintain the right, nay, the duty of inquiry, — of determining, by the free exercise of our own judgment, whether and how far we at the North are accountable for the wrongs and evils of slavery, — whether and how far Providence has entrusted to us the power, and given to us the means of decisive influence and action in the cause of emancipation. To put and answer these inquiries is the object of the present article.

We will first define the position of the people of the North with reference to slavery, and our position will determine our duties.

In the first place, we stand in undoubted relations of brotherhood to the entire slave population; and, however much or little we may be able to do for them, they are legitimate subjects of our interest, sympathy, and intercession; nor can it be questioned that we should hold ourselves in readiness to perform in their behalf any brotherly office, which implies no trespass upon the rights or well-being of others.

In the next place, we have with us at the North not a few of the African race, with whom we have immediate social relations, and our treatment of whom will be determined mainly by our feelings towards their race as a whole. These negroes are among us, as the outcast Parias are in Hindoostan. They are generally excluded from our common schools, and in some places are left without any provision for their education. From some churches they are shut out, and in others seated in a solitary loft above the organ, forbidden so much as to stand on the same floor with their white brethren in the house of Him, who "hath made of one blood all nations of men," nay, not permitted to kneel at the sacramental altar, till the last white communicant has retired to his seat. There are very many, who seem to look upon the whole race with loathing and detestation. Now if there be anything wrong in this state of things, compassion for and sympathy with the slave are more likely than aught else to set it right. But, if the great body of the African race in our country be viewed with a resolute

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hardness of heart, the few, with whom we come occasionally in contact, will be sure to suffer neglect and contumely from us.

Yet again, there are at the North many ardent, devoted friends of the slave, to whom, unless they have forfeited them by misconduct, we owe all the duties of good neighborhood, friendship, and Christian fellowship; and our views of the subject of slavery must determine, whether we shall treat them as deluded, erring, and guilty men, or whether we shall regard them as endowed with the true spirit of charity and philanthropy. They are, many of them, persons of the most exemplary lives in every other point of view, — persons, of whom it is often said, that their anti-slavery principles are their only fault. Is this to be regarded as a heinous fault, worthy of vehement reproof, censure, denunciation, excommunication; or as in itself amiable and commendable? If we are right in considering slavery as a forbidden subject, and the slave as shut out by the will and law of God from our sympathy, prayers, and efforts, then is the anti-slavery man, as such, a disorganizer, a man full of treason, a dangerous member of society, to be treated with suspicion and distrust. But if, on the other hand, we have duties incumbent on us with reference to slavery, then he, who has the courage to meet these duties with a bold front, is worthy of high esteem and honor, so far as he preserves the meek and gentle spirit of his Master. To be sure, if he be a fanatic, his fanaticism on this, as on any other subject, is proof of a weak head. If he be denunciatory, his bitterness of spirit on this, as on any other subject, betrays a bad temper. But, simply as an anti-slavery man, he is to be regarded with the same esteem, with which we regard any other consistent and devoted laborer in any philanthropic work. But, we repeat it, our duties towards this portion of our fellow-citizens depend upon our views of the evil and the remedy of slavery.

Then again, there is a great deal of emigration from the Northern to the Southern States, and a heavy responsibility * rests on us as to the tone of feeling and principle, with which

* We know not how to write on a moral subject without using this same word *responsibility*, which, we are as well aware, as any hypercritical reader can be, is not a legitimate English word. Why not take from the word its *bar sinister*, and affiliate it at once? The idea which it represents had slumbered in Christendom for fifteen centuries or more; its resuscitation in these latter days is well worth the coining of a name.

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those shall be imbued, who go from our midst to communities, where their immediate influence must be given either for or against this form of oppression. New England men, wherever they go, occupy prominent places, and exert a commanding influence. They are more apt to give than to receive law, — to control the current of opinion than to yield to it. In some of the Southern towns and cities, the chief men in every department of business and enterprise are natives of New England. At present, these adopted citizens of the South are, for the most part, among the strongest and least tolerant advocates of slavery. The Editor of the Southern Review, a work established chiefly for the maintenance of distinctively Southern principles, is a Northern man. Many of our readers have seen the recent correspondence of a Church in Savannah with the American Unitarian Association, in connection with their sending home unheard a clergyman, who had been selected for them on the express ground of his standing uncommitted with reference to Northern abolitionism. From their unwillingness to listen for a single Sabbath, or to give the slightest countenance to one, who could be suspected of hostility to Southern institutions, it might be inferred that this parish was composed of people, in whose veins pure Southern blood had flowed for many generations. But, in point of fact, this parish is composed almost entirely of Northern men. A clergyman, who recently officiated there, can recall the names of but three natives of the South among the male parishioners. Of the three members of the Committee of correspondence with the Unitarian Association, two are Northern men by birth; and still another member of the parish, who bore a prominent part in the transactions relating to Rev. Mr. Motte, and indeed is an acknowledged leader in all ecclesiastical matters, is a Northern man, and holds an auction every Thursday for the sale of human flesh. These facts we have specified as illustrating the state of principle and feeling which prevails, with hardly an exception, among Northern men, who have become citizens of the South. Now there must be something grossly wrong in the state of public feeling at the North, while such men and few others are sent Southward. There must be bitterness at the fountain, whence such streams flow. And we have no doubt that, if the New England people, who are now at the South, had carried with them what ought to be New England principles, and simply lived them out by tacitly declining all connection with slavery and all action in its

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favor, without any insurrectionary language or movement, they would have done a vast deal towards mollifying the tone of public sentiment at the South, and preparing the way for the gradual emancipation of the enslaved. A healthy and active state of general sentiment at the North is then, in this point of view, if in no other, of prime importance, and would be of extensive and controlling influence.

We have as yet named prominent indeed, yet only secondary features of our position with reference to slavery. We are still more intimately connected with the system. We, the people of the North, are slave-holders and slave-dealers. The Constitution and history of our Federal Government cover a vast amount of pro-slavery recognition, sanction, legislation, and executive action, and for all this the non-slaveholding States are accountable; for they have always had the majority in the national counsels, and, had they been true to the principles, for which they professedly contended in the war of the Revolution, the Federal Government would have been clear of this unholy compact. Now what the non-slaveholding states have done, they may undo. What they have established they may abolish. What they have sanctioned they may disavow. Let us then take a cursory view of what they have done, established, and sanctioned; for this is requisite in order to define their position.

Our Constitution embraced at the outset an atrociously guilty compromise, guaranteeing the continuance of the slave-trade for twenty years, without providing for its abolition even then; and against this many earnest and fervent voices were raised by not a few of the first and best men in the nation, among whom we would make honorable mention of Joshua Atherton, of New Hampshire, (grandfather of *Hon. Charles G. Atherton,*) who opposed the adoption of the Constitution on this ground alone; for, said he, "If we ratify the Constitution, we become consenters to and partakers in the sin and guilt of this abominable traffic." By the Constitution, also, a larger than its due share of representation and influence was secured to the Southern States, by reckoning three-fifths of the slaves in the numbers, on which the apportionment of representatives in Congress is made, — an arrangement, by which the Southern minority of the free citizens of the country have been fast approaching a majority in the representation, and will, if the process go on unchecked, soon attain that majority by

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the increase of slaves in the extreme South, the creation of new slaveholding states, and the admission of Texas. There is also an article in the Constitution, which permits the reclaiming of fugitive slaves in the free States, and thus declares our territory, what it has often been made, a hunting ground for slave-drivers. Under this article, according to the construction of our Supreme Judiciary, any citizen of the North, (he need not be black, men as white as most of our readers have been claimed and seized as slaves at the North,) may be seized and carried into slavery without the form of trial, on the mere affidavit of the claimant before a justice of the peace. The redeeming trait in this article is, that it does not make it incumbent on the State authorities to act in such cases, and its force may be evaded, (as it has been, to the honor of Massachusetts, by the unanimous vote of her legislature,) by prohibiting, under severe penalties, any of the State functionaries from aiding in the arrest or verification of persons claimed as slaves, and forbidding the use of the jails of the State for the detention of such persons. But still the article is a foul blot upon our Constitution, and a memorial of a sycophancy and subserviency to the South on the part of the North, which has been as the life-blood of Southern slavery.

By the Constitution, Congress has exclusive jurisdiction over the territories belonging to the Union; and, south of thirty-eight and a half degrees of north latitude, Congress has sanctioned slavery in all those territories. Several new slaveholding States have been admitted to the Union; and particularly, in 1820, Missouri, the question of whose admission was made to turn solely on the point of slavery, was admitted with liberty to hold slaves, by means of the infamous defection of Northern members of Congress from the true principles of freedom.

Under the authority of Congress, also, and by the votes and the acquiescence of Northern legislators, slavery and the domestic slave-trade, in its most revolting features, are sustained in the District of Columbia, of which the entire, unrestricted jurisdiction is vested in Congress. There are nowhere in the Union more severe slave-laws than are sanctioned in that District by act of Congress. The barbarity of the slave-laws in force there may be judged of from one single item. A slave, convicted of setting fire to any building, is to have his head cut off, his body divided into quarters, and the parts set up in the most public places. In the very seat of government, any

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colored person may be apprehended as a fugitive slave; and, if he proves himself free, he is charged with all the fees and rewards given by law for the apprehension of runaways, and, upon failure to make payment, he is liable to be sold as a slave. Thus, under the very eye of Congress, a free man of color, on his lawful business, may be arrested, thrown into jail, and, if too poor to pay charges, which range from forty-five to ninety dollars, sold into irredeemable slavery. There have been, however, cases in which blacks thus arrested have been discharged. There was reported to the House of Representatives a case, in which a black man was taken up on suspicion of being a runaway slave, and kept confined *four hundred and five* days, in which time vermin, disease, and misery had deprived him of the use of his limbs, and made him a cripple for life, and he was then discharged because no one would buy him. Yet, while these things are well known in Congress, and are brought before that body by committees of their own, they have repeatedly voted to make no alterations in the slave-laws of the District, and to such votes scores of Northern legislators have recorded their names in the affirmative. Meanwhile the neighboring State of Maryland, from which many of these slave-laws were derived, yielding to the spirit of the age, has expunged the most obnoxious of them from her statute book; and on her soil, the man, who confesses himself a slave, is released, if his master does not answer an advertisement, and appear to claim him, within a limited time.

Under the eye, and with the sanction of Congress, the District of Columbia is also made the great slave-market of the Union. There have been single numbers of the National Intelligencer, that have contained advertisements relating to the purchase or sale of not only hundreds, but even thousands of slaves. In the city of Washington, so lucrative is this trade, that licenses to carry it on, still under the authority of Congress, are given and regularly paid for at a rate prescribed by the city corporation, which has been and probably is now no less than *four hundred dollars.* Northern members of Congress are often compelled to meet droves of slaves on their way to a market or to the river, handcuffed and chained together. This traffic is disgusting to the best people of the District, has been petitioned against by large numbers of them, has been presented as a nuisance by grand juries, has been commented upon with righteous severity in Charges from the Bench, and yet

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legislators from the non-slaveholding States have not principle, energy, and independence enough to do it away.

By the Constitution, the regulation of commerce between the several States is vested in Congress, and Congress has enacted laws permitting the slave-trade between the States coastwise in vessels of over forty tons burden, and prescribing minutely the manifests, forms of entry at the custom-house, and specifications to be made by the masters of such vessels. By the same authority a vast inland slave-trade is carried on, and immense numbers are driven in herds from the Northern to the Southern and Southwestern extremities of the slave-holding district, often thirty or forty attached to the same long chain, each by a short chain affixed to his iron handcuff. In Maryland and Virginia, this is a business of prime importance; and large, jail-like places of deposit, well supplied with thumb-screws, gags, and cowhides, are scattered at not infrequent intervals over the territory of those States. In 1836, no less than *forty thousand* slaves were sold out of Virginia, for a sum of not less than *twenty-four millions* of dollars; and, not long before that date, a distinguished statesman of Virginia publicly declared, that his native State had been converted into "one grand menagerie, where men were reared for the market, like oxen for the shambles." And all this under the authority of Congress, and with the consent of Northern legislators.

But our Federal Government has not confined its action on this subject within its own jurisdiction. By express votes of Congress, and of course, of Northern members to constitute a majority, the Government has repeatedly negotiated with Great Britain, (though happily with no success, except a paltry pecuniary remuneration in one or two instances,) for the restoration of fugitive slaves from Canada, and of slaves that have been cast by shipwreck upon British soil. And, to cap the climax of degradation, our republic, when the permanence of slavery in the island of Cuba was supposed to be threatened, made to the courts of Madrid and of St. Petersburg, and to the Congress of Panama, the most dolorous representations of the effect, which emancipation in Cuba must needs have upon her own domestic institutions, and intimated in the most explicit terms, that the United States would without hesitation embark in any war, which might be necessary to perpetuate slavery in that island, — yes, pledged the entire strength and resources of this nation, which styles itself free, to keep hundreds of thou-

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sands of human beings out of its own precincts in hopeless degradation and bondage.

Now, while such has been the spirit of a large portion of the delegation to Congress from the non-slaveholding States, we cannot regard the rejection of petitions bearing upon slavery as a matter of surprise, or as furnishing additional ground for moral indignation to an honest and philanthropic heart. Before the right of petition was formally denied, the majority of Northern members had sufficiently shown that there was no right too sacred to be yielded up to Southern dictation; and, as they would at any rate have treated the subject-matter of these petitions with neglect and indignity, it may have been as well for them to do the work in brief, and to save the time and money of the nation by one sweeping vote of rejection.

Such is the amount of action, permission, and sanction, for which we at the North are accountable. To this degree are we slave-holders and slave-dealers. We are not indeed directly responsible for slavery within the borders of the several States. That is their concern. But for every act or recognition on the part of the Federal Government we are accountable, — that is, we the people, not our representatives or rulers, who are our agents, but we individually, whenever we have voted for a man, who was likely to cast a pro-slavery vote in Congress, whenever we have learned with indifference, that our agent had cast such a vote, whenever we have voted a second time for a man, who had once cast such a vote. The acts of our representatives, which we let go by unrebuked, are our acts. When Northern men have thus voted, it has been because their constituents were either indifferent to the whole matter, or strongly tinged with Southern principles. A late member of Congress, who never failed, when the opportunity offered, to vote in behalf of slavery, recently made, in an official document from the executive chair which he now fills, the following exposé of his political creed: "While in public life, it has ever been, and will ever continue to be, my effort, first to learn, and then to do the will of my constituents." This man, had he belonged to the Massachusetts or Vermont delegation, would no doubt have voted differently on many of the questions involving the subject of slavery; but he represented New Hampshire, where the general tone of public feeling is either absolute indifference, or a leaning towards the pro-slavery side of all these questions. The use of the representative's own

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conscience seems to have grown obsolete, and instructions and pledges have so far supplied its place, that, on all matters of importance, the alternative is obedience or the resignation of one's office. Thus the burden rests upon the consciences of the citizens at large.

Such is the position of the people of the North, with regard to slavery. What are the duties growing out of this position?

In the first place, it is undoubtedly the duty of every citizen to take cognizance of the subject, to know what slavery is, and to have a just, and, so far as may be, an adequate idea of its evils and enormities. In judging of Southern slavery, we have no need to discuss the question, whether slavery is intrinsically and under all circumstances an evil and a wrong. It is certainly within the range of abstract possibility, that a state of things might exist, in which something corresponding to the relation of master and slave should be mutually beneficial. Such a state of things did probably exist in the patriarchal families in very early times; and, from all the hints that we can glean of those times, the servants or slaves were generally the privileged party. But this has nothing to do with our negro slavery. The bondage of the African race is the fruit of man-stealing, a crime denounced in the severest terms by revelation, and utterly abhorrent to the very first principles of humanity. Then again, our system of negro slavery sets aside that law of God, by which the marriage covenant is pronounced inviolate and permanent. There are among the slaves no husbands and wives joined till death shall part them. Their union is not marriage, nor is it usually sanctioned by the sacrilegious mockery of a marriage ceremony. Those united for a season may be, without their consent, separated scores or hundreds of miles from each other, and then each is permitted, expected, nay, compelled to enter into a new union, and, perhaps a few months after, into yet another. The leading ecclesiastical bodies at the South have even issued proclamations, declaring that the gospel laws of matrimony are not to be considered as binding upon the slaves, or with reference to them, and that the slave may lawfully change his or her wife or husband with every change of residence. This one feature is sufficient to make the whole system unspeakably degrading and demoralizing, inasmuch as it entirely breaks up the institution of families, which is the choicest instrument of civilization and refinement,

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the surest bond of virtue, and an essential means of religious culture and discipline. Then too, in most of the Southern States, deep and hopeless degradation is entailed upon the slaves, by their being wholly cut off from the means of education, stripes, fines, and imprisonment impending over him or her, who would teach a slave to read, or give him a Bible. Of course, this system precludes all just and accurate knowledge of truth and duty, and all opportunity to rise in the scale of intellectual and moral being. Under the present state of things, the female slaves are necessarily, and almost universally, made victims of the licentiousness of the whites. The most decisive and unanimous testimony is borne on this point by every honest witness.

With regard to the moral condition of the slaves, our fairest estimate must of course be that based on Southern testimony. In a report adopted and published by the Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, made but a few years since, it is said, "that the negroes are destitute of the privileges of the gospel, and ever will be, under the present state of things," — that they "will bear comparison with heathen in any country in the world," — that "not a twentieth part" of the slaves attend public worship. A recent writer in the Western Luminary, a respectable religious newspaper in Kentucky, says:

"I proclaim it abroad to the Christian world, that heathenism is as real in the slave States as it is in the South Sea Islands, and that our negroes are as justly objects of attention to the American and other boards of foreign missions, as the Indians of the western wilds. What is it constitutes heathenism? Is it to be destitute of a knowledge of God, — of his holy word, — never to have heard scarcely a sentence of it read through life, — to know little or nothing of the history, character, instruction, and mission of Jesus Christ, — to be almost totally devoid of moral knowledge and feeling, of sentiments of probity, truth, and chastity? If this constitutes heathenism, then are there thousands, millions of heathens in our beloved land. There is one topic to which I will allude, which will serve to establish the heathenism of this population. I allude to the universal licentiousness which prevails. It may be said emphatically, that chastity is no virtue among them, — that its violation neither injures female character in their own estimation, nor that of their master or mistress. No instruction is ever given, no censure dispensed. I speak not of the world, I speak of Christians generally."

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Compared with this mental and moral degradation, (we might almost say *annihilation*, for the system does all that it can to sink the man into the brute,) the mere physical sufferings connected with it, severe as they are, dwindle into insignificance. These may perhaps be often overrated; the moral evils no imagination can overrate. As to the fare, as to the clothing of the slaves, it is indeed scanty and poor, bearing no comparison, at least on the plantations, with that of free laborers at the North, yet much better, no doubt, than the English manufacturers and many classes of free laborers in Europe can procure. With regard to cruel treatment, there are doubtless many humane masters, and there is a degree to which the slaves are protected by law, that is, they cannot be killed in mere sport or wantonness. But the slave-laws of all the Southern States are written in blood, and are a burning shame for a nation that boasts of its freedom, and a foul outrage upon humanity. In Virginia, there are *seventy-one* offences, which, subjecting a white man only to imprisonment, are in a negro punished with death. In Georgia, any person may inflict *twenty* lashes on the bare back of a slave found off the plantation where he belongs without a written license; and there are very many Southern laws, by which, not for crimes, but for merely nominal offences, any irresponsible person whatsoever, without the intervention of a magistrate, may inflict from *twenty* to *forty* lashes. By the law of Maryland, a slave may, for riding a horse without leave, and for other like insignificant offences, be whipt, have his ears cropt, or be branded on the cheek with the letter R. But we will not go on with the loathsome and harrowing recital; we might fill many pages with it; nor do we believe that there stands written, whether in fact or fiction, poetry or prose, anything so horrible, so shocking to every sentiment of humanity, as the statute-books of the Southern States.

In addition to the legal cruelty to which the slave is liable, he is left in a great degree unprotected against private violence and wrong. To force applied for however unlawful or brutal purposes, the slave can make no resistance. Passive submission, not only to one's own master, but to the whole white population, is enjoined by the severest penalties. There are some cases, in which a slave, for merely striking a white man, may be lawfully killed on the spot; and death, in Georgia for the second offence, and for the third in South Carolina,

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is the legal penalty for a slave's striking any white person, under circumstances of whatever provocation, or in resistance of any treatment, however unlawful, brutal, or malignant. The slave is cut off from the benefit of trial by jury, except in capital cases; and in South Carolina, Virginia, and Louisiana, life may be legally taken without the verdict of a jury. In Louisiana, if the court is equally divided as to the guilt of a slave, judgment is rendered against him. In 1832, *thirty-five* slaves were executed at one time in Charleston, S. C., without the intervention of a jury. The degree of protection which the slave enjoys against over-working, and the security in which he holds any little property of his own, may be judged of from the fact, that the lowest prescribed limit of a slave's daily labor is *fifteen* hours, that in several of the States a slave is not permitted to raise cotton or to keep domestic animals for his own benefit, and that in several of the States masters are forbidden, under heavy penalties, to let their slaves work for wages for their own benefit. The extent to which the slave's life is protected may be inferred from the law of South Carolina, which provides that, if a slave be murdered by a white person in a sudden passion, or by excessive punishment, the man who kills him shall pay a moderate fine, and be imprisoned six months.

Now these laws are not merely indications of what may in extreme cases be done to, or suffered by the slaves. Laws are the surest index of the state of public sentiment in a community, and these laws show in what light the rights, the comfort, and the life of the slave are regarded at the South. These laws are the true criterion of judgment. Individual cases of hardship and gross cruelty may exist under the most humane laws, wherever man has power over his fellow-beings. We have ourselves known, in our own neighborhood, cases of the cruel treatment of children bound out at service, which, had they occurred at the South, would have figured largely in anti-slavery reports; but they would here have been the subjects of the severest legal animadversion, and would have roused the indignation of the whole community, while at the South they would have been far within the liberty granted by law, and would have excited no surprise or censure. We doubt not that there are very many humane and conscientious masters at the South, — many, who bear the burden of slavery unwillingly, and who cherish a Christian sense of

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duty towards this species of property, from which they know not how to escape. But we want no other proof than the advertisements in Southern newspapers, to convince us that cases of gross inhumanity are appallingly frequent; and even in the cities, where the slaves are supposed to enjoy a condition of greater comfort than on the plantations, the severe whipping of adult slaves, both male and female, either by the master or by the public functionary appointed for that purpose, is a common and habitual thing.

Such is slavery, — the institution for which our kind construction, our tolerance, our sympathy, our tacit approval, is often claimed. Such is the slavery, which we Northern men help sustain in the District of Columbia, and in the territories under the national jurisdiction, and which, in the portions of the country where it has the deepest dye, is replenished by a traffic conducted under our sanction and authority. Such is the burden, which, as it exists in the Southern States of the Union, claims not indeed our interference until it is solicited, but our prayers and our sympathy both for the enslaved and for their masters. And can it be Heaven's will, that we should close our hearts against the knowledge of such wrong and misery? Shall constitutions and enactments restrain prayer, and make void the law of God and of Jesus, which says, "All ye are brethren?" But what shall we, what can we lawfully do for the benefit of the slaves taken collectively?

In the first place, we can and should pray for the slave and his master, in public and in private, not in mere form, but heartily, fervently. And this we say, not *pro formâ*, because we are writing for a religious periodical, but because we believe in the efficacy of prayer. The evil is one of appalling magnitude. The stone is very great. We cannot roll it away unless God strengthen us and teach us how. But if all Christian people at the North would unite in earnest supplication to God for their unhappy brethren, he would open their eyes to modes of influence and effort now hidden. And on a subject so exciting, the calm and gentle spirit of prayer is especially needed to purge philanthropy from all base admixture of earthly passion, to temper it with justice and candor, and to prevent sympathy with the oppressed from degenerating into hatred and vindictive feelings towards the oppressor. We fear that on this subject there has been too much preaching and too little praying.

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But we ought to preach as well as pray, and to write as well as preach. The subject is an open one, and demands discussion; nor by its discussion can wrong be done to any, so long as the laws of truth and of brotherly love are kept inviolate, and all bitterness and wrath are put away. It is often said, that slavery is not a subject for the pulpit. But why not? A just moral perspective will not indeed ensure it the broad and engrossing place in pulpit services, which some assign to it. But we regard it as a fit subject for discussion in the stated services of the sanctuary, because slavery is a moral rather than a physical evil, and presents its most alarming and revolting aspects in a Christian point of view; because the evil is so desperate, that no power short of the omnipotence of Christian truth and love can reach it; because the slaves and the slaveholders are our brethren, children of our Father, bound to us by religious ties, and it is therefore fitting that we should bear them on our minds and hearts in our Father's house; because, if we have any duties towards them, they are religious duties, and therefore within the legitimate scope of the pulpit; and, finally, because the subject is encompassed with so many difficulties, and needs for the solution of them so much of the wisdom that is from above, and for its discussion without offence so much of that calmness and meekness, which should characterize the pulpit more universally than it does, that we may well apply to it the language and imitate the example of the Psalmist, with regard to perplexities of a different class: "If I say, I will speak thus, behold, I should offend against the generation of thy children. When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me, until I went into the sanctuary of God." Let then a firm and strong disapproval of the whole system breathe from the pulpit and the press, throughout the non-slaveholding States. Let no man be ashamed, or afraid to utter or to write what he believes and feels. Let this state of public sentiment be cherished at the North, without any aggressive movement towards the South; and it cannot but make itself felt there. It has there even now many hearts ready, yearning to respond to it. And those at the South, who cling to slavery, depend for their support to a very great degree upon popular feeling at the North, and feel fortified by the strong pro-slavery ground taken by the Northern press and pulpit, more than by any or all things else. While slavery has its friends at the North, its hold upon the South cannot be relaxed. But right feeling

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here will work its way there. Our literature tinged with it will be read and felt there. Our great political orators once imbued with it will send the truth home to Southern hearts in breathing thoughts and burning words. Our ecclesiastical bodies are more or less intimately connected with the Southern church, and their unanimous, decided, and strong sentiment will soon find a response from every devout and intelligent Christian at the South, and will awaken to sincere penitence and a better mind those portions of the Southern church, which have entered into willing compact with this iniquity. Let the whole North be set right on this subject, and there would be no call for active interference or expostulation. Slavery would expire without a blow. It could not live a day without sympathy and support from beyond its own borders. Public sentiment is not the lame and slow agent which it once was; but it moves on wings of fire, and is like lightning which glances through the whole firmament with a flash.

In addition to this general expression and full establishment of right feeling upon this subject, it is most manifestly our duty to undo our own work, — to abolish slavery and all operations connected with it, so far as the field of our jurisdiction extends. This is the most momentous subject of national legislation; nor can we hope for the smile of Providence upon any of our counsels, while this is overlooked. We deem it of the utmost importance, (and it certainly is important,) that our legislators should be sound in the faith on such subjects as the tariff and the currency, on which men yet may honestly differ, — it is of incomparably greater importance that they should be men, who will not by their continued subserviency to a system, which no Northern man in his heart approves, call down the judgments of long-suffering Heaven upon our land. The domestic slave-trade should be stopped; and that movement would insure speedy emancipation in the slave-breeding states, where slaves are confessedly not worth keeping for their labor, and confine the evil to the extreme South and Southwest. The portion of the country under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal Government should be purged of this contamination. Let it be done by purchase, — it would not cost a third of what the Florida war has cost, and it would be far better to pay men for what is not their property, than to let the most shadowy suspicion of injustice rest upon a philanthropic movement. Let the whole North too, as one man, resist the admission into the

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confederation of any new slaveholding member. Let all the non-slaveholding States also follow the noble example of Massachusetts, and forbid the agency of their magistrates and the use of their jails for the detention and restoration of fugitive slaves. Let the entire strength of the non-slaveholding States also be put forth in behalf of such amendments to the Constitution, as shall blot out all recognition of slavery, and base representation on the actual number of free citizens in the several States.

But, on all these subjects, the present is the time for prompt and energetic counsel and action. Let new slaveholding States be admitted into the Union, let Texas become a member of the confederacy, (and this may take place during the very next session of Congress, and scores of Northern votes be cast in favor of it,) and not improbably the majority of representatives at the end of another ten years will belong to the slaveholding States, and the chains of slavery will then be riveted, till the iniquity of the nation is full, and our name and place shall be blotted out from among the nations of the earth. Is it said, that a decided stand against slavery on the part of the non-slaveholding States would destroy the Union? Let it then be destroyed. If the Union cannot be preserved, and the laws of God be at the same time kept, better that human compacts yield, and God be obeyed at all hazards. In saying this, let us not be understood as speaking treasonably of our national Union. We prize and love the Union, and sincerely pray that God may keep it. But we expect safety for it only by its conformity to the divine will and law. We do not believe that it is threatened by any philanthropic principle or movement. On the other hand, were slavery removed from a place so near its foundations, it would be built up at once in the strength and beauty of liberty and virtue, and would be the desire of all nations, the glory of the whole earth. But, if the Union is threatened, it is by the reciprocal encroachments of the South and sycophancy of the North, and by the reckless, unprincipled tone and spirit thus given to the whole legislation and action of the Federal Government. There is no part of the national administration not infected by the spirit of slavery. "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart is faint." The South is arrogating to itself a vast preponderance of government patronage and influence, and dictating laws for the whole Union, while Northern men, making shipwreck of principle on the

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subject of slavery, preserve it on no other subject, and are pushing the country as fast as they can into misrule and anarchy. The only salvation of the country is for the non-slaveholding States to assert their own principles, and to send to the national legislature men of principle, Christians, philanthropists, men that fear God, — not pledged and packed men, but men whose consciences their constituents can trust, — not men, who need to be instructed, but such as shall go thoroughly furnished for every good work.

We have as yet said nothing of anti-slavery societies. We know little of their movements. We have seldom seen, and never read their reports; nor have we examined any of their documents, except in search of facts bearing upon the general subject. The only anti-slavery meeting that we ever attended was one, to which we were drawn a few months ago, by the fame of certain negro orators, who were to be present. We suppose that the anti-slavery movement has done both good and harm, and probably very much more good than harm. So far as those societies have breathed a denunciatory spirit, we heartily disapprove of it. Yet they have not been the aggressors, nor can there have been anything in their most bitter speeches and writings, which can bear comparison with the rancor of their assailants, and the contumely and injury, which have been heaped upon them without redress. They have never mobbed defenceless women, nor stormed churches, nor set fire to public buildings, nor taken the lives of their opponents. We would far sooner have stood in their ranks than in those of their adversaries; for, whatever their excesses may have been, they have had principle on their side, though we wish that they had had grace, after their great Master's example, when they were reviled, not to revile again, when they suffered, to threaten not, but to commit themselves to him that judgeth righteously. Had they all breathed this spirit, as many of them uniformly have, their cause would by this time have outgrown all opposition. Had such men as the lamented Follen and Channing, and some living luminaries of the church, whom we could name, (men who never harbored an unkind thought, or wrote or uttered an ungentle word,) given the whole tone to the anti-slavery movement, we should by this time have seen the most glorious and successful reformation in modern Christendom far advanced towards its completion. But though the professed advocates of this cause have not done

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all that they might, or so well as they might, though they have been men of like passions with other men, and not angels, which reformers are always expected to be, and never are, they deserve at our hands a few words of vindication, as to the alleged injury to their own cause, which has been charged upon them.

It is said, that their movement has closed many hearts against the claims of the slaves. Many hearts have indeed remained closed; but, in addition to the many thousands of active and zealous members of anti-slavery organizations, there is a far more general and strong feeling on the subject throughout the entire North, than when this movement commenced. Nor was this a new movement. There had been, all over the non-slaveholding States, and in the more northerly of the slaveholding States, abolition societies under that express name, in active operation for many years from the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and in the Northern and Middle States till 1820. In looking over their reports and memorials, we find that they used as strong and earnest language on the subject of slavery, as can have been used in the most vehement recent publications. Their reprobation of the whole system is unlimited and intensely emphatic; and they numbered among their active members the confessedly first and best men in Church and State. They poured in upon Congress petitions and memorials against the admission of Missouri into the Union, and in these documents the strongest, most uncomprising anti-slavery ground was assumed, as the unanimous expression of Northern sentiment. That was their last great battle. Defeated then through the treachery of men, on whom they implicitly depended, they left the field, and were probably disbanded; for we find no subsequent traces of their existence.

The defection of the North from its legitimate principles on that occasion no doubt deadened the general conscience; and little was said or thought on the subject of slavery for the succeeding ten or twelve years. Meanwhile new relations were growing up between the North and the South. The Southern cotton trade during this interval rose from utter insignificance to a place second to no other branch of business. The manufactories of the New England States became numerous and extensive, and depended on the South for their raw material. Our New England ships, shut out by universal peace from the general carrying trade, which they had once enjoyed, found

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the transportation of Southern cotton their surest and most lucrative employment. Thus had the North in a very brief space of time become connected with the South by the closest and most constraining pecuniary ties, so that the republication of views, which twenty years before it had been scandalous not to admit, now touched new chords of interest, on which it jarred harsh and unwelcome music. The principles were not new; but the relations of Northern men had become changed.

Maryland and Virginia abolitionism owes its decline to a similar chain of causes. For many years slavery had been in those States an intolerable pecuniary burden. For the ordinary operations of agriculture, slave labor was well known to be less lucrative than free labor; and yet the latter could not be had, while the former was employed. Much of the cultivated land of those States was exhausted by the perpetual succession of the same crops, and it could not be improved, nor could new land be brought under cultivation, without a larger capital in human stock, than owners could generally afford, or the profits of agriculture authorize. The African slave-market was open until 1808, and the more Southern States could buy slaves stolen ready grown in Africa, cheaper than they could be raised in Virginia and Maryland; and the suspension of the African slave trade left the country fully stocked, if not overstocked with slaves, and, Southern industry remaining nearly stationary for a series of years, the slave-growing States found no regular or lucrative market for their increase. No wonder that they talked loud and long of emancipation. They were undoubtedly on the eve of decided action. But when cotton, from being little cultivated, became in a few years the great staple of the South, the demand for slaves grew large and constant, the raising of slaves for the market became the most lucrative business in the country, and Virginia and Maryland found a mine of wealth in an institution, which had long been draining their resources. What room then is there for surprise, that public feeling in these States should have undergone an entire revulsion? And is it not much more reasonable to attribute this revulsion to new mercenary motives operating in behalf of slavery, than to the re-echoing from the North of the very sentiments of Washington, Jefferson, and Randolph, — of sentiments, which for nearly fifty years had found free and fervent utterance in the legislature of Virginia?

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It is often said, that the anti-slavery movement at the North has been the cause of many hardships and disabilities to the slaves at the South, particularly of the restrictions upon their movements and social gatherings, and of the laws against their being taught to read. But we find on examination, that most of these effects preceded their alleged cause. The American Anti-Slavery Society was formed in December, 1833; the New England Society, which accomplished but little, a year or two sooner. It was not till 1834, or 1835, that the recent anti-slavery movement became of sufficient magnitude to attract attention at the South, or to be generally regarded at the North as anything more than an ephemeral effort of a few visionary and fanatical philanthropists. But the severest of the slave-laws are as old as the constitutions of the respective States; and most of the additional restrictions and disabilities may be traced back to at least ten or twelve years before the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The prohibition of Sunday and other schools for the education of slaves, we can trace back in South Carolina to 1821; and, on looking over Niles's Register for the four or five years next preceding and following that date, we find numerous enactments of the same kind in that and other Southern States, and very many indications of an anxious and disturbed state of feeling with reference to the negro population, which we do not find within the last ten years. Possibly laws of this character may have been more rigorously executed since the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society; but very few such laws have been enacted since that time. The state of things, which Northern abolitionists have been so freely charged with bringing about, existed in full during the interval when the North hardly lifted a voice against slavery. With regard to the present condition of the slaves, we have unimpeachable testimony that they are better treated than formerly; and this is doubtless to be attributed to the influence of public opinion at the North, even in the partial and distorted forms in which it has reached the people of the South. It is said in the article in the Southern Review, which we made the subject of comment in our March Number, "The fact is notorious, that slaves are better treated now than formerly, and that their condition is still improving." Gen. Scott, in a recent letter, in which he expresses strong disapprobation of the anti-slavery movement, makes the same assertion. So much for the alleged injury to the slave from his Northern friends.

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It is also said, that the efforts of Northern abolitionists have fanned an insurrectionary spirit at the South. Against this charge there is abundant *primâ facie* evidence, without our looking into the history of slave insurrections. It is well known that living anti-slavery agents are not suffered to go at large in the Southern States. The only effort that can be made, therefore, at the South, is by sending anti-slavery books, pamphlets, and newspapers. These are indeed sent and circulated in large numbers, not among the slaves, (for the slaves cannot read,) but among the masters; and, if the slaves are made acquainted with their contents, it must be through the gratuitous agency of their masters. In point of fact, all the great slave rebellions on record took place before the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The writer in the Southern Review, already referred to, says, that "under no circumstances can a servile war ever take place;" that "*in vain* has the United States mail been infested and burdened with incendiary documents;" and that "no temptations or artifices can seduce the slaves from their allegiance." This Review is published at Charleston, which was the seat in 1823 and 1832 of extensive negro insurrections, discovered just on the eve of execution. It is well known to many of our readers, that the whole population of Charleston was, for a long series of years, in a state of perpetual alarm and apprehension from the slaves, and that South Carolina took the lead in those legislative restrictions, which imply a state of dread and consternation. It is truly gratifying, while anti-slavery principles are so rapidly extending themselves at the North, to find descriptions of a state of entire and fearless security emanating from the highest literary authority in that very city and State, in which, prior to the anti-slavery movement, the most fearful elements of combustion were believed to exist.

Is it farther said, that the anti-slavery movement at the North is entirely devoid of influence upon the South? Not thus do Southern people say. We might fill half a score of pages with unimpeachable Southern testimony to the effect of this movement upon the Southern mind and heart. Judge Upshur, a member of the present cabinet, said, in his prospectus for the establishment of the Southern Review: "The defence of the peculiar institutions of the slave-holding States is the great and leading object of the work. That they are in danger, it would be folly to disguise. A party has arisen in

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the other States, whose object is the overthrow of the relation between master and slave; and from present appearances it will continue to increase till the object it has in view is consummated, unless efficient measures be taken to arrest further progress." The editor of the South Carolina Messenger, in earnestly soliciting subscriptions for this same work, says: "If your institutions are ever to be defended, no time is to be lost. Delay, in all cases dangerous, would be fatal in this." The North Carolina Watchman says: "We are inclined to believe there is more abolitionism at the South, than prudence will permit to be openly avowed." A letter from the Maryville Theological Seminary to the Editor of of Emancipator says: "At least one half of the students of this theological institution are decided abolitionists, and are very much strengthened by perusing the publications sent by you." A gentleman of Frederick County, Md., writes: "The anti-slavery cause is rapidly gaining ground in this section of the country. Three years ago, abolitionist and insurrectionist were interchangeable terms, and an abolition paper a prodigy; now anti-slavery papers are read regularly by our most respectable and intelligent citizens." Gen. Duff Green writes in a recent editorial at Washington: "We believe that the South has nothing to fear from a servile war. We do not believe that the abolitionists intend to excite the slaves to insurrection. We believe that we have most to fear from the organized action upon the consciences and fears of the slave-holders themselves; from the insinuation of their dangerous heresies into our schools, our pulpits, and our domestic circles."

We have, we trust, been successful in defending the anti-slavery organization from some of the grave charges, which have been made against it. But it is not by societies alone that the work can be accomplished. They can only sow the seed; and this they have done faithfully, diligently, though not always in good temper. It remains for us, citizens, Christians, to supersede them, (as every true friend of the cause will be grateful to have them superseded,) by adopting, all as one, the great principles, which they have cherished.

A. P. P.

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THE VALUE OF NATURAL RELIGION.

Read in the College Chapel at Cambridge, May 10, 1843, as the Dudleian Lecture for this year.

THE Founder of this Lecture, in his testamentary provision, directs that it shall be for "the proving, explaining, and proper use and improvement of the principles of Natural Religion." Fortunately for him on whom this service may be laid, language admits of various interpretations, and the obvious sense is not always the true sense. At first it might seem, that he was required to bring within the compass of a single discourse, of moderate length, all that might be said on one of the largest themes of human inquiry — to condense the substance of folios into a tract, the lessons of the universe into a passing word. But, happily, he can construe the terms of the requisition in a sense that shall not impose a task so remote from human faculties. The object of the Lecture on successive years may be such as is described in the passage already quoted; yet of each one of them who contribute their several parts towards the accomplishment of this object no more be demanded, than that he set forth, with such ability as he may possess, some single point whose elucidation shall fall within the province over which the Lecture extends its ample title. So interpreting the duty which has been assigned me, I shun the path which my immediate predecessor in the discussion of this subject pursued, with a success that could wait only on his habits of profound thought and accurate study,* and, instead of attempting to present an abridgment of the "proofs and explanations" which must be given by him who would establish the "principles of Natural Religion," shall confine myself to a single inquiry, — what is the value of this branch of knowledge, this source of instruction. It seems to me, that in endeavoring to fix the precise place which it is entitled to have in our regards I shall aim at securing "its proper use and improvement."

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* The Dudleian Lecture in 1839, when according to the order prescribed by the Founder the same subject was treated, was delivered by Rev. John G. Palfrey, D. D., and has lately been printed as an Appendix to the first volume of the "Lowell Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity."

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If I do not mistake, this topic might lay a special claim on our attention. It has an immediate interest for our minds and hearts, as it involves results more directly practical than any other arising out of the general subject. At the same time, it may be doubted whether it be not the topic on which there is the least of clear discernment or of correct opinion. Comparatively few persons take the trouble to ascertain the precise value of the disclosures which Nature makes on the great subject of religion, and satisfy themselves with vague impressions or superficial judgments. While they whose minds assume a tone of greater decision are apt to run into one or other of the extremes that here, as every where, tempt the fallibility of man to substitute dogmatism for impartial conviction. On the one hand, are those whose estimation of Natural Religion deprives Revelation of much of its importance, and makes the Bible little more than a republication of what is conceived to have been uttered in an equally intelligible, though not perhaps so distinctly audible, a voice by the harmonies of the universe and the testimonies of experience. Some persons indeed appear anxious to strip Christianity of whatever might distinguish it from the oracles whose whispers, as they float on the still air of meditation, reason catches and interprets according to its ability, and imagine that by thus denuding Revelation of its peculiar claims they recommend it to a more hearty confidence. And on the other hand, there is often a depreciation of Natural Religion which almost amounts to a denial of any intrinsic worth, and would reduce it to a mere broken utterance of uncertain sounds. They by whom this view is taken conceive that they too are rendering a service to Christianity, by calling in question the value of all instruction but that which has come through a specially commissioned teacher. But Christianity requires neither of these methods of establishing its right to be welcomed with gratitude and reverence. It is benefitted by neither of them; and it might be difficult to say from which it receives the greater injury.

The inquiry before us then gathers importance alike from its nature and from the mistakes that are either carelessly embraced or religiously entertained. Our sense of the value, if not our judgment concerning the import of Revelation, must be seriously affected by our appreciation of Natural Religion.

Let me approach the answer I should give to this inquiry by placing the meaning of the terms we use beyond the reach of

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misapprehension. What do we mean by Natural Religion? It is not the interpretation which Christianity enables us to give to the voices of creation and providence, of our own souls and of the outward universe. We must divest ourselves of our Christian associations, if we would ascertain the force of what may be learned without the aid of Revelation. There is no mistake more common, — yet none more manifest or more fatal to all just decision, — than the confounding of Christian reasonings upon natural phenomena, whether material or spiritual, with the conclusions to which an intelligent observer might be led by the phenomena seen under no other light than that of Nature. Natural Religion, in its concrete form, is the amount of instruction which man in the fair and full use of his powers might derive from Nature, independently of Revelation. It is therefore manifestly wrong, in determining what Nature teaches, to borrow from Revelation assistance in studying its lessons. If I would know how distinctly the outlines of objects may be traced in a cavern, I must not let in a gleam of sunshine; nor must I pronounce a judgment, till my organs of vision have ceased to feel the effect of the broad daylight, and have acquired their proper adaptation to the dimness of the place.

But into an error not less serious shall we fall, if we confound Natural Religion with the actual religion of Pagan lands. This is no more Natural Religion than is the actual religion of Christendom Christianity. That we may discover what the Christian Religion is, we go to the Christian Scriptures and study them with an honest mind. So if we would know what might have been learned on the great themes of religion before Christ or Moses spoke, we must go to the Scriptures written on the heavens and the earth, on man's nature and man's experience, and decypher them without regard to the perversions of their meaning into which others have fallen. It is not to the fanes of Roman idolatry, nor to the temples of Egyptian polytheism, that we must resort, to determine what is proclaimed in the ear of a sober and reverent reason concerning the Object of worship or the duty of man. It is not by the graceful mythology of Greece, nor by the ruder forms into which the imagination of Northern Europe shaped its religious fancies, that we must judge of the instruction which Nature conveys respecting the unseen and the Divine. It is neither from the sacred books of Hindoo wisdom, nor from the Aboriginal traditions of our own continent, that we may obtain the grounds of a correct

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opinion concerning the amount of knowledge which the meditative soul might acquire without the help of a special instructor. For these, whether they be the lowest or the highest forms in which the religious sentiment has expressed itself, reflect the peculiarities of the people, the age, and the individual, rather than the solemn decisions of the race.

What then is Natural Religion? I answer that it is the title we give to the conclusions to which one would be brought who, without any assistance, direct or indirect, from Revelation, and without the bias either of a popular worship or a philosophical system, should examine the teaching of his own soul and of the outward universe upon the subjects that fall within the province of religion; the results at which a candid and studious inquirer, in whatever part or period of the world, would arrive through the legitimate exercise of the human faculties upon what is presented in reason, creation, and providence as the materials out of which to construct religious faith.

But what, it may be asked, are the subjects that fall within the province of religion? Sometimes this question receives too broad, sometimes too narrow a reply for our present purpose. The reply is too broad, when looking rather at its practical control than at its scientific basis, we make religion to include all that concerns man. As a law of life, indeed it does; but as one of the departments of human study, it does not. The reply is too narrow, when we confound religion with theology, and consider it only as instruction concerning God.

As a science, the first and greatest of all sciences, religion includes four branches of inquiry. It undertakes to solve four problems, for which a solution can be found nowhere else. First, the problem of the *universe*. We are part of a vast sum of being. We belong to the world; but this belongs to a system of worlds, which again constitutes a fragment of the immense whole, which is embraced within the unmeasured walls of the universe. So do we pass from individual being to a conception which overtasks our laboring faculties. But we are not content to rest here. We would comprehend something more than the fact, however large, of existence. We inquire after its origin. Whence came the universe? And after its security. On what Power or Will does it lean? It is the office of religion to answer these questions, in a single word, God. The universe has its solution in God.

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Next, the problem of *life*, of human life, of man's inevitable experience. It begins with the helplessness of infancy, and if it be prolonged through its full measure of days, it runs over a various history of want, exposure, success, disappointment, growth, decay, till it disappears in the darkness of the grave. Life, with its mysteries of birth, death, and intermediate suffering, what does it mean? It seems to present strange inconsistencies; tokens of a providence, with signs of indifference or caprice, in Him who has established its laws, if any such laws there be, if any one there be who cares for its progress or its events. What apparent injustice, what actual inequality, of condition! What mixtures of evil and good in the cup of man's experience, which his own hand has not mingled! Life, the scene of trial and disaster, of uncompleted plans, of unadjusted relations, what does it mean? It belongs to religion to answer this question, which curious minds and aching hearts are ever ready to propound. The reply is given in a single word, *immortality;* which with a twofold significance, pointing backward to discipline and onward to retribution, causes the perplexities of the present to disappear in the contemplation of the future. The life of man finds its solution in human immortality.

The problem of *duty* comes next into view. Man feels within himself a moral nature and a law of obligation. He is compelled by the structure of his nature to acknowledge an essential difference between right and wrong; he is made to confess that this is a difference which arises in every case of action, whether extended beyond or confined within himself; and he is so constituted as to realize an inseparable connexion between the performance of right and the experience of satisfaction, as likewise between the consciousness of wrong-doing and the sense of discomfort. Here then is a continual admonition to rectitude. But where shall he find the standard of rectitude? What is the comprehensive statement of duty which expresses all its requisitions? Religion meets this demand by unfolding the *will of God*, the Author of man's nature, and the Legislator of his conscience. Duty is ascertained through faith, happiness is found in obedience; and these both have their solution in Divine commandment.

One other problem remains, — that dark mystery of *sin*, with which the human breast is disquieted, the human mind alternately exercised and baffled. Man is a sinner; his own soul

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witnesses the terrific fact, and his observation shows him that sin is the condition and curse of universal humanity. Must it always be so? Must this sad fate ever attend the human spirit, filling it with discontent and dread? The acknowledgment of sin awakens the sense of desert. The sinner has separated himself from the moral harmonies of the creation, and erected his will in opposition to the right and the good. What is before him, but condemnation and punishment, — the forfeiture of his true place in the universe? The position which belongs to him he has already lost; can it ever be regained? Where, where are the encouragement, the pity, the help, which he needs? Where are the means of recovery and of hope? Convinced of sin, he looks to heaven, to earth, around, within, and implores the answer without which his days must be spent in gloom. He receives the answer from religion, which lightens his sadness and dispels his fear by the single word, *mercy* — mercy that reaches down its saving hand from the Offended to the offender, and proffers the gifts of pardon and peace, of new energy and new life. The sin of man (precious truth!) finds its remedy and reconciliation in the mercy of God. The most fearful of all mysteries is solved.

The universe, life, duty, sin, — these are the titles of the chapters into which we divide the subject of religion. The universe, whose author is God; life, whose explanation is immortality; duty, whose index is the Divine will; sin, whose conqueror is Divine mercy. Now how far does Natural Religion write out either of these chapters?

First, of God nature speaks intelligibly and decisively. It proclaims its Author. To one who examines and reflects as he ought, the universe furnishes its own explanation. The works of God bear witness concerning him. They affirm the intelligence, benevolence, and unity of their Cause. So far the argument from what is seen to what is unseen, the *a posteriori* argument of the theologian, proceeds without difficulty; but here it may be thought to stop. The infinity of the Divine attributes must be established by another kind of proof; and this is found in those elements and laws of the mind, which conduct us by a sure, though somewhat refined course of argument to the conclusion, that God possesses all the natural and moral attributes which can be ascribed to a being of infinite perfection. The being and perfection of God are doctrines of Natural Religion, legitimately deducible from the physical and spiritual facts of the universe.

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But with this class of truths ends, as I think, the positive instruction of Nature upon the themes included under the survey of religion. Upon the next inquiry — life — it does not adopt that tone of decision with which it proclaims the Divine existence and unity. In regard to the Providence which watches over the life of man it does not speak in an unambiguous voice, and respecting immortality it presents only probabilities in opposition to the facts, of silence and decay, which belong to death. I suppose that on this point it is particularly difficult for us to define the exact import of the teachings of Nature; since it is almost impossible to lay aside, even for an hour, those associations with which early discipline bound faith in immortality around our hearts. But what stronger proof do we need of the insufficiency of the argument for immortality which can be constructed without the aid of Revelation, than the fact, known to every student of classical antiquity, that while the popular mind embraced without examination a doctrine so welcome to one ever walking, with those whom he loves, on the brink of an unfathomable abyss, they who sought out the grounds of such a persuasion, the philosophers of the ancient world, sighed for a firmer basis than they could discover for their hopes? Nay, when we listen to the elaborate and ingenious reasonings with which the lecturer on Natural Religion attempts to build up faith in the immortality of man, do we not perceive their want of an unassailable stability, and feel a secret joy that so insecure a fabric is not our only refuge from the anguish of doubt? Intimations many and strong does Nature afford in behalf of such a faith, but along with them start into view those appearances of the death-chamber and the grave, which it requires a direct voice from Heaven to pronounce only superficial.

As on this subject the teaching of Nature is uncertain, in regard to duty its instruction is imperfect. We are not indeed left without some knowledge of the Divine will, for the laws which our Maker has written on the human heart are recognised as his; and they bear a character of authority to which we cannot be blind. But the instruction is incomplete; how incomplete, I need not attempt to show. Suppose only that all the assistance in determining what is right and good which we have derived from the discourses and life of Christ were withdrawn, and the impressions which his history and Gospel have made upon us were effaced from our minds; and you may be

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able to estimate the comparative inadequacy of the information which we might draw from other sources, as the foundation of our moral judgments and the occasion of calling conscience into exercise. Conscience, it must be remembered, does but enforce the necessity of obedience to convictions of right. Upon the soundness of those convictions it is not its office to pronounce sentence. Man's moral nature renders him amenable to law, and to a certain extent makes him a law unto himself; but it falls far short of disclosing to him the length and breadth of Divine commandment, by which his life must be regulated.

If upon these two last topics of religious instruction the teaching of Nature be obscure or incomplete, upon that which remains to be considered it will be found, I believe, that Nature is silent. Neither reason nor experience enables us to lift the veil from the portentous mystery of sin. Man has in all ages felt its oppression and trembled at the thought of the displeasure which he knew it must provoke. Hence has he sought means to avert the anger of the deities whom he worshipped. Costly sacrifices have been laid on their altars, and the blood of human victims been poured out for propitiation. Bodily penance has been voluntarily inflicted, and patiently and long endured. Yet by such means he has dared only to *hope* that he might obtain forgiveness. Mercy is not included among the terms of Natural Religion. Nor does it belong to this teacher to give man the aid which he needs in raising himself from moral degradation to spiritual life. Sin not only shuts out confidence in the efficacy of repentance; it impairs the native ability of the soul, so that it is far more difficult to retrace the steps of error than to persevere in the right path. Special assistance was needed to overcome the difficulties of a return to virtue. It is Revelation alone that holds out the promise, or unfolds the conditions of pardon; that offers the sinner the armor, or enables him to gird about him the strength, which will be demanded in the conflicts that lie between his present servitude and his final redemption.

It might seem that we are now prepared to answer the inquiry which we proposed respecting the value of Natural Religion. But we shall clear for ourselves a more direct path to the true answer by one farther preliminary remark.

The sources of instruction upon the subjects which come within the survey of religion, (as has been all along implied,)

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are two, — Nature and Revelation. Under the former of these terms we include whatever in the creation or the established order of things, in the world without or the world within, in the facts of experience or the laws of the reason or the instincts of the soul, may throw light upon the momentous problems which we have stated; while by the second of these terms we understand a special and direct communication from Heaven. Now it is plain, that the value to us of any such communication must rest upon certain facts previously ascertained, to wit, the existence and character of a Being from whom the communication could proceed. In other words, Revelation supposes man's faith in God to be established. The being of a God must be proved antecedently to a revelation; if it be not, from whom shall the revelation be accredited? It must be received as worthy of belief; but how can this point be settled, so long as they to whom it is addressed are ignorant of its source? We must have confidence in the Author of the revelation, or it will be to us no more than a phantom or a fiction. We must have *confidence*, I say; therefore more than a knowledge of his existence is necessary. We must entertain no doubt of his power to communicate instruction by extraordinary methods, and we must place such an implicit reliance upon his veracity, as shall prevent our raising any question respecting the truth of the instruction which he may please to communicate. What is this but saying, that previously to any supernatural revelation we must exercise faith in the physical and moral attributes of the Divine Being? And this faith must have a sufficient, that is, an impregnable basis. Unless therefore Natural Religion makes known the existence of God and his perfections, a barrier is placed in the way of all acquaintance with Divine truth, Revelation is stripped of all authority, and man must forever live amidst the spectres of uncertainty and the miseries of spiritual want.

Now it appears from what has been said, that Natural Religion meets this very case. It proves the Divine existence and attributes. It opens the fountain whence may issue the stream of revelation. The argument which it supplies for the being of a God — of one Supreme, Perfect, Infinite Mind — is incontrovertible. The absurdities of Atheism do not merit even the praise of ingenious sophistry. To the eye of an enlightened reason the primary truth of religion stands forth distinct amidst surrounding obscurity. Man needs not a revelation to prove a

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God. His faith in God is the origin of his faith in revelation.

Hence we find this fundamental truth continually assumed in the Scriptures. The Bible opens with a declaration which excludes the admission of doubt on the subject: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." When Moses promulgated his system of national worship and polity, he announced that its foundations were laid in Divine command, as if the people would at once recognise the authority of a law emanating from Jehovah, the Eternal "I AM." And when Christ introduced his Gospel into the world, he proceeded upon the facts of the Divine unity and supremacy as unquestionable verities. Christianity never undertakes to prove the Divine existence, and rarely makes it a matter of direct inculcation. It is always treated as an indisputable truth. "There was a man sent from God," is the description of the forerunner of the Christ; as if every one knew that there was a God. "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you, God that made the world and all things therein," was Paul's language before the assembled wisdom and curiosity of Athens, as if Nature had taught them a truth which he needed only to re-affirm in positive terms, to obtain a sure basis for his subsequent discourse. The Bible throughout supposes, but seldom affirms, and never labors to prove, the fact of a God.

The value then of Natural Religion — to give now a direct answer to the inquiry before us — in the first place lies here; that it discloses the fundamental truth, on which all religious faith and practice, all worship, duty or hope must be built — the being of God. Thus it lays the foundation for Revelation. It makes known Him from whom alone the revelation can proceed, and it clothes him with the attributes which alone can impart to any revelation the character of authority. Upon this point let me for a moment detain your regards. The only possible way of authenticating a revelation from Heaven is by miracle. No other proof of a Divine mission is conclusive, for the simple reason, that no other evidence which may be adduced bears that peculiar stamp which can be impressed only by the hand of God. About all other proof hangs the possibility of a human origin. The very definition of miracle involves the ideas of superhuman power and Divine volition. The only two questions therefore that can arise are, whether miracle be possible, and whether the sensible or the historical testimony

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in its favor in any particular instance be irrefragable. These two points being proved or conceded, there is no room for question respecting the supernatural claims of him who brings such credentials of a Divine mission. That he bears a message from God is a necessary inference from the admitted facts; nay, scarcely is an inference, for it is rather a part of the statement. Whether we are justified in esteeming him faithful to his office in the delivery of the message he has received is yet another point, to be decided on entirely distinct considerations, drawn from the general character and deportment of the messenger. Now of the two first named points, that which relates to the reality of an alleged fact must be settled according to the principles which we apply to any other case of sensible or historical proof; but that which relates to the possibility of miracle can be decided only by Natural Religion. And by Natural Religion it is decided in the affirmative, through the ascription to the Supreme Being of a power adequate to the production of such an effect, and of a will which for the good of his creatures would call this power into exercise. In regard therefore to the possibility and the proof of a Revelation we are obliged to rely upon Natural Religion, from which alone we derive our knowledge of a Being by whom a revelation could be given, or by whom it could be stamped with the only indubitable marks of a superhuman origin.

In like manner, as I have said, we must be able to place an entire confidence in the integrity of the Divine mind, to secure us against the suspicion of deception on his part, which would be fatal to all the uses of a Revelation. This confidence we are enabled to repose through the instruction which Nature affords, as it establishes the perfection and unchangeableness of God; and thus does it complete the amount of pre-requisites to the reception of revealed truth.

Just in proportion then to the estimation in which we hold Revealed, will be the importance we allow to Natural Religion. Practically considered, the former is an impossibility without the latter. The one is needed as a support to the other. The altar around which cluster our dearest associations and best hopes cannot be suspended in the air. The Bible must rest upon the Rock of ages. The voice which said, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him," must have been preceded by a not less intelligible voice proclaiming the one true God, who has sent his Son to be the Instructor of our race. The Christian

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above all others should honor the teachings of Nature, without which his faith in the Gospel would have neither security nor justification.

But now, having described the positive worth of Natural Religion, I proceed to point out what may be called its negative value; which consists in the evidence it furnishes, through its own incompleteness, of the need of Revelation. Nature does not answer questions which man proposes with all the curiosity of a perplexed and suffering soul. It does not dispel the mystery which overhangs life; does not present a sufficiently comprehensive law of duty; does not show a remedy for the greatest and most extensive of all evils, sin. Man cries out with unsatisfied impatience, or groans in speechless agony, over these dread problems of his humanity. From the ancient world came the sound of ignorance and want, like the moan of childhood weary and lost amidst the perils of the wilderness. Through ages of gloom and fear, of alternate belief and skepticism, of conflicting hope and despair, that sound rose up, and from the walls of the past its echoes still fall upon our ears. I know there was faith in another life among the ancients; but it was not, I repeat, a faith which would bear the test of examination. It was not a faith on which Cicero could lean in his hour of sorrow. It lacked certainty, *it lacked certainty;* and without this it was a poor, poor solace for the bereaved parent or the orphan child. Take from me the loved and the honored, who make the earth pleasant to me, from whom home derives its joy, and life its sweetness, lay them in the grave, and then offer me comfort in the *probability* that death has not devoured their essential being, — you mock my grief by the vain attempt at consolation. I want certainty, not probability. I want the faith which is "the evidence of things not seen," as well as "the substance of things hoped for," — the faith which Revelation only can give. I know you may find in the writings of Pagan moralists many excellent maxims, and much concerning duty and happiness that a Christian is glad to repeat as a lesson to his own conscience. But why did not this ethical wisdom produce any effect? Why was it to the people at large, and even to the disciples of these extolled teachers, like a strain of soft music in a twilight hour, — a soothing, but a passing breath? Because it had not the character of *authority.* Because it did not bear the mandate of Heaven. Because they who heard traced it to no higher

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than a human origin. When the Prophet arose whose preface to every exhortation which fell from his lips was, "Thus saith the Lord," the people acknowledged the force of the instruction; when *He* appeared who spake "as one having authority," they "heard him gladly," and the sound of his words has gone through the world, bearing an efficacy that has regenerated communities. I know that men sought in various ways to appease the fury of the gods and to soften the voice of condemnation within their own breasts, giving even "the fruit of their body" to purchase forgiveness "for the sin of their soul." But I do not learn that the Heathenism of ancient or modern times found satisfaction in these acts of sacrifice and self-denial. They were only the signs of a guilty conscience, not of a heart restored to peace.

Great and terrible wants then remained and always must have remained without relief, if a supernatural revelation had not been given. Natural Religion is essentially defective. But its insufficiency supplies an argument of great force in favor of Revelation. It renders a revelation probable, if not necessary to the vindication of the character of the God whom it describes from the imputation of unfaithfulness to his own attributes. In other words, a revelation is needed to save Natural Religion from the absurdity of self-contradiction. In its own character, therefore, the latter contains a prophecy of the former. And what a lesson of gratitude does it teach to them who enjoy the influences of truth and grace that have come through Jesus Christ. The poverty of the world before the entrance of the Gospel does but make our abundance more manifest. As the uncertain help of the stars causes the traveller to rejoice in the light of day, so should the obscurity in which men groped during the long ages before Christianity awaken in our hearts a thankfulness beyond language for him who is the Light of the world, — its Light, and its Life also.

We have examined two of the relations which connect Natural with Revealed Religion; from each of which we derive proof of the value of the former. Alike from the clearness of its reply to one of the chief demands of the soul, and from its imperfect answers or its total silence upon other questions of the greatest moment, we learn in what estimation it should be held. There is one other use which we may make of its teachings that should not be overlooked, — in the analogies it furnishes for the relief of difficulties or the elucidation of

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truths which belong to Revelation. These analogies it requires a delicate eye and a skilful hand to detect and apply with justice. They may be improperly multiplied and unduly pressed. Their value too may be exaggerated. It should not be forgotten, that it is the office of analogy to reduce or remove difficulties, or to suggest or confirm truth, but not to establish or prove it. What is the effect of such a book as Butler's celebrated treatise? Not to convince the reader of the truth of religion, but to show him that objections which may be urged by the skeptic or the sciolist lie not against religion alone, and therefore cannot invalidate its authority, since they may also be urged against "the known constitution and course of things." Butler's own words, chosen with his usual accuracy, are, that "in some few instances, perhaps," the analogy he proposes to trace "may amount to a real practical proof; in others not so. Yet in these it is a confirmation of what is proved other ways." Revelation is not free from occasions of perplexity to him who reads with the most docile temper. How could we expect that it should be? On such high themes as those of which it treats, much must be left in the dimness of an imperfect disclosure. Upon many of these obscure points it is pleasant to find, that reason and experience help us to enlarge the instruction which we draw from the Bible. Hints, which under the light of Nature alone would have profited us nothing, may be taken up by the Christian believer and be made productive of a large amount of probability, or even become the key which shall open before him an increase of positive information. Let me illustrate my meaning by a single example. The light of Nature, we have seen, was unable to disclose the reality of a future life. The Gospel has made this an unquestionable article of faith. But the *forms* of the life to come it did not please the Father of our spirits to reveal through his Son. Having however ascertained the fact of another life, we are able to bring into use many analogies which before were destitute of practical value. So long as the doctrine of immortality needed proof, these analogies were like coin of genuine metal but without the stamp which placed their genuineness beyond dispute. When this doctrine was raised out of the uncertainties of desire into a positive article of religion, these analogies immediately became available as sources of instruction. And now, although the direct teaching of Christianity in regard to another state of existence comprehend little more than the two essential facts of

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consciousness and retribution, we can by legitimate inferences from the present state define many of the circumstances of that untried future.

Is there now any one formula in which we may express the value of Natural Religion, as ascertained by these remarks? Let me attempt to enclose the result to which we have come within a single sentence. It shall be this. Natural Religion by what it teaches lays an indispensable and sufficient foundation for Revealed Religion; by its inability to teach more renders Revelation both acceptable and probable; and by hints that it affords, which become available to any purpose of instruction only after the entrance of Revelation into the world, confirms and expands the teachings which come through this latter source.

To many persons this may seem an inadequate exhibition of the worth of Natural Religion; but I believe it will be found to stand midway between the extremes of error which were noticed at the commencement of this Lecture, and to do justice to each of the methods by which man is led from earth to Heaven.*

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* To some readers it may appear, that I have omitted all mention of one of the most important uses of Natural Religion, and have therefore fallen much below a full exhibition of its value. By many persons Natural Religion is represented as a sort of test of Revelation, a standard by which to try its contents and determine their meaning or authority. Nature is made to sit as the interpreter and judge of Scripture. There seem to me to be serious objections to clothing it with these functions. In the first place, there is no occasion for their exercise. It will be time to look to the decisions of Natural Religion as a guide to inform us what part of Revelation shall be accepted, when it shall appear that Revelation contains anything by which the judgments of a sound reason respecting the true and the good are contradicted. As yet, I conceive, nothing of this kind has been found among the instructions which the Bible delivers as from God. But, in the next place, it seems almost absurd, to talk of interpreting the language of Revelation, or of ascertaining its validity, by what was previously known. The essential idea of Revelation is, that it brings to light what was not known before. What would be thought of him who should propose to rectify the impressions which objects make upon our sight under the blaze of noon by our conceptions of them as seen in the morning twilight? And to add only one other remark, Revelation furnishes within itself the proper measure of its significance, in its general strain of doctrine and commandment, or in what was formerly styled the analogy of faith. The Bible affords us the means of qualifying and construing its own expressions. While, therefore, I maintain the perfect harmony of the teachings of Nature and Revelation, I cannot regard the former as presenting a standard by which we must try the latter.

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On one point, however, it may be proper to pursue our remarks a little farther. The view which has now been taken of the office of Natural Religion may give rise to a question respecting its sufficiency to the wants of man before the appearance of Christ. We have said that the actual religion of mankind without Revelation must not be confounded with the instruction which might be fairly drawn from the sources of religious knowledge which exist independently of Revelation. Still it may seem that we have so far reduced the amount of legitimate instruction from these sources, as to leave man previously to the Gospel in such a state of unavoidable ignorance on the highest questions of human concernment, as on the one hand to exculpate him from guilt, though he fell into habits of grievous depravity, and on the other hand to involve the character of God under a heavy imputation of neglect, if not of injustice towards his creatures. I have stated the objection in its full strength. Let us see if it rest on solid ground.

We have affirmed, that Nature teaches the being and perfection of God; establishing not only his existence, but his unity, supremacy, and infinite attributes. Manifestly, then, it lays the foundation for a true worship and a devout life. Idolatry stands in as direct antagonism to Natural as to Revealed Religion; so that, as the Apostle says, they were "without excuse," who with "that which may be known of God manifest in them, even his eternal power and divinity, the invisible things of him being understood by the things that are made, yet glorified him not as God, but changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man and the brute beast." That a filial piety like that which grows up under Christian influences should have prevailed in ancient times, was not to be expected, for the ascription to the Supreme Being of the title "Father," in all its moral significance, is one of the distinctive marks of the Gospel. But that Nature rebukes the polytheism and the licentiousness of Heathen worship, admits not of question. It went farther even than the determination of the Object and character of religious worship; for in the disclosures which it made respecting the Divine Being, it read a perpetual homily on the dispositions with which he should be regarded, and justified the language of the passage we have in part just quoted, in which Paul condemns the Pagan world because they were not "thankful" to Him, of whose care and bounty their daily experience should have re-

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minded them. But farther yet. We have seen that Nature is not silent in regard to duty. Its intimations have not the clearness nor the authority of the teachings of Christ, but they do not leave man without any rule of conduct. Here again the language of Paul, who in the earlier part of his Epistle to the Romans shows how well he understood the relations of this whole subject, is pertinent. "When the Gentiles, who have not the Law, do by nature," or in obedience to convictions springing out of their nature, "the things contained in the Law, these, though they have not the Law," written on tables of stone or rolls of parchment, "are a law unto themselves, and show the work of the law written in their hearts; their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing or else excusing one another:" for, through the testimony of their own moral being, they "know the judgment of God, that they who commit such things," as were practised in ancient Rome or Corinth, "are worthy of death." Nature then delivers instruction which might have kept man from the polytheism, idolatry, and disorder into which the world had sunk before the mission of Christ. If the people had but given a just interpretation and paid a proper regard to the truth which was spoken by the unwritten Word that "was in the beginning," and though "with God," and in effect "God," was "in the world," the "life and light of men," they would have avoided the dreadful wickedness which in consequence of their wilful or hereditary blindness was the condition of universal humanity at, and long before, the commencement of the Christian era.

Natural Religion was therefore at once sufficient and insufficient; — sufficient so far as the character of its instruction was concerned, if this had been followed, to have prevented the debasement into which successive generations were but the more deeply plunged by their disregard of its lessons; but insufficient as a means of conducting the race to perfection, or of lifting either the race or the individual from the depths of a voluntary or entailed sinfulness.

Is not this then the result to which we are brought, — that the history of religion, as it appears in the Divine providence, is precisely that which exhibits the most wise and tender care for mankind? Three methods were before the Creator when his omniscient foresight drew out the plan of man's education on earth. According to the first, he would have given at once the whole amount of instruction and influence which are now

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enjoyed under the blended teaching of Nature and Scripture. Adopting the second, he would have never enlarged the boundaries of religious knowledge beyond the limits to which it might be carried by reason and experience. The third was that which he chose, — of bestowing at first the means of spiritual culture which we have seen to be deducible from Natural Religion, and afterwards, at such a period in the progress of the race as circumstances, included within the prescience of the Eternal Mind, should determine to be best, communicating by a special instrumentality a revelation that should place within the reach of man all the knowledge which it would comport with the character of his present existence for him to possess. For a moment it might seem to us, as we compare these methods, that the last is that which infinite Goodness must select. But we should remember that the object to be attained is, the largest amount of benefit to the race through its successive generations; or in other words, such a development of humanity as shall be found, when the world's history shall be closed, to have given to the greatest number of individuals the greatest assistance in securing the true end of their being, without involving injustice or unkindness to any. It certainly is not difficult to see that this object is realized more effectually through an accumulating amount of assistance, than by the communication in the first instance and at once of all that could be bestowed. By the former method an opportunity is given for the trial of human capacities under different degrees of tuition, the value of the aid furnished by Revelation is made more clear, and the point which shall be ultimately gained in the progress towards a full development of the religious character lies beyond that which would have been reached, had all the facilities enjoyed by us at the present day been entrusted to the race in its infancy. Besides all which, the gradual unfolding of divine truth which belongs to a series of communications is most favorable to the display of mercy, and to the relief of those wants which experience alone could have enabled mankind to understand. By this method of progressive instruction no injustice is done to the earlier generations who had not, nor to the lands who do not now possess, the Gospel; for we have seen that their light, if it had been properly used, was sufficient to guide them to God and virtue. It is unreasonable, for those who turn away from streets lighted, however dimly, into the darkness of forbidden passages, and en-

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counter loss or destruction, to complain that a more brilliant illumination is not poured upon the thoroughfares which they forsake. They who love darkness will find it, though they burrow for it in the earth. Even Christianity does not make men good in spite of themselves.

Not only the principle of a progressive instruction for the race, but the actual history of that principle, as it is recorded in the Bible, illustrates the Divine Wisdom. The special interrupted the course of the ordinary at the right moment. The supernatural came when the natural had proved itself inadequate for the guidance or help of man in the midst of the difficulties which he had accumulated about himself, and when the world was in the best state of preparation to receive a messenger from Heaven. Christianity was not an accident, nor the fruit of an arbitrary decision; but the accomplishment, in the fulness of time, of the beneficent purpose which the Creator entertained when he made "the first man Adam a living soul," — of leading the race along the path of experience till they should welcome that "Son of Man" who should be "a quickening spirit" to their depressed and toilworn energies. The Mosaic economy was not an episode in the history of religion, but an essential and necessary part. Judaism finds its explanation in Christianity. It was needed as a passage along which the human mind should advance from the delusions of Paganism to the convictions of Christian faith. Judaism without Christianity would be an inexplicable phenomenon. Christianity without Judaism is hardly conceivable. Moses and the Prophets came to prepare the way for Christ. Christ came when the preparation which they had made was complete. To regard the history of the Old Testament as having an interest only for the people whom it describes, seems to me not less irrational than it is foreign from the associations of the Christian Church. As a part of Divine Revelation Judaism belongs to Christianity as much as a suitable entrance belongs to a building intended for common use. Among the monuments of former periods of violence and insecurity, the traveller in Europe sometimes comes upon a lonely tower, the only access to which is by a most difficult and somewhat dangerous ascent along its perpendicular walls, by means of crevices left at intervals of painful length, till they terminate at a passage leading into the interior of the building many feet from the ground. May not this afford a not unapt illustration of the manner

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in which the world must have penetrated the citadel of Christian truth, if a previous revelation had not facilitated their entrance? By difficult and almost impracticable steps must they have toiled up to the point at which they could obtain the protection that it offered from doubt and despair. How few would ever have accomplished, how few have attempted such an undertaking. Behold in the Divine instruction and supernatural facts of the Old Testament the steps by which an easy ascent was secured to the open door of Gospel salvation.

But I am tempted to wander from my subject. Yet have I not lost sight of the purpose to which I have thought this discussion should be made finally available. Its effect, if it have been properly conducted, must be to establish a tranquil and grateful faith in religion, as it extends from the fundamental truths which Nature proclaims to the closing strains of the Christian Revelation. The whole is needed. The whole should be accepted. Let no one lay rash hands on any part of the structure whose strength lies in the symmetrical adjustment of its several portions. Natural Religion cannot bring its eternal principles to bear upon human affairs without the aid of Revelation. Revelation cannot address a single appeal to the human being without adopting as its own the principles of Natural Religion. Through twenty-five centuries of the world's experience was the teaching of Nature tried, and it was found insufficient for tempted, struggling, sinful man. Through fifteen centuries more were the two great characteristics of the Jewish Law and history, to wit, the republication in a positive form of the doctrines of Natural Religion, and the introduction of a supernatural proof in favor of religion — through fifteen centuries were these, the essential points of Judaism, which constitute its permanent value, while all else that belonged to it was transitory in its nature and subsidiary in its design — through fifteen centuries were these preparing the way for Him who should complete the instruction which it was necessary for man to receive on his way to heaven. Through eighteen centuries has Christianity, concluding and comprising all other instruction, been in the world, and though that law of the Divine Providence which rebukes human impatience by what we are apt to account the slow realization of the Divine purposes has been in force here, yet what conclusive and abundant proof has it yielded of its sufficiency for those practical ends in respect to which Natural Religion had proved its own incompleteness.

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It has solved the problems whose unexplained magnitude embittered life. It has led multitudes to an elevation of character overtopping what was reached in ancient times, as much as the Andes of the Western continent the heights of Parnassus or the mountains of Lebanon. It has still kept in advance of the loftiest attainments of the wisest and best of them who have submitted to its discipline, and has shown its ability to conduct the race to a state of intellectual and moral development inferior only to our conceptions of angelic life. Such have been its effects. How much wider and deeper an action it is suited to exert upon society and humanity, it is not difficult to foresee; yet who shall be bold enough to describe? Nature and Revelation, the mightiest influences that can reach the soul of man or affect the destiny of the world, are made one in Christianity. "What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

E. S. G.

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LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THE HON. EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

It must be obvious to every reflecting mind, that the writings of an intelligent and philosophical author, must always be the bodying forth, in visible and tangible language, of his original and individual character. Hence, in estimating the character of a man, we examine and classify the acts of his life, and the result of this classification we declare to be his intellectual and moral worth. Sometimes, however, the process is reversed. Having previously ascertained the character of a man, we apply this knowledge, thus ascertained, to the explanation of some portion of his actions, which, without such a clue, might seem enigmatical, or lead us unjustly to ascribe to one cause an action that belongs manifestly to another. Thus, interpreters rely much on what they call the historical sense, that is, that meaning of a passage which is derived from a consideration of the character of an author, and the circumstances under which he lived. Who does not see, for example, how much light would be thrown upon the Iliad and the Odyssey, if there were to be discovered among the rubbish of some old library, or in the tomb of some contemporary Egyptian, a minute and authentic biography of Homer, or still more, a full and copious narrative of his personal history, with an analysis of his poems written by the author himself! What a mighty revolution would such a discovery effect in the republic of letters! How many a voluminous commentator, now culminating in the zenith of exegetical glory, would descend quietly below the horizon! How many a learned Theban, in sorrow if not in anger, would bid a mournful adieu to the results of a life of profound and sagacious research! The whole work of interpretation would be to be gone over again, and a new form of knowledge would be established on the basis of unchangeable truth. How much we need a knowledge of the character of an author, in order to interpret his writings, is then evident. And how much such a knowledge, properly applied, would facilitate progress, needs no illustration.*

* Wayland's "Dependence of Science upon Religion."

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Now no one who has examined them will doubt, that the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, both his philosophical and theological, are as truly an exemplification of his character, as the Iliad is of the character of Homer. If a knowledge of the character of the author of the one would assist us to interpret his meaning, the same must be at least as true of a knowledge of the character of the other. Now a knowledge of Swedenborg's character is contained in his writings. We there have a perfect transcript of his mind, his mental and moral powers, the rules by which he governed his life, so that nothing is wanting to enable every honest and fair-minded inquirer to arrive at a just estimate of his character. Does not reason teach us, then, that the study of the works of this author should first commence with the study of the character of the author himself? And may we not anticipate, that, when this shall have been done, as great a change will take place in the progress of opinion in reference to his character, as we supposed above in the progress of interpretation, by a knowledge of the character of the author of the Iliad?

It is to enable the reader to form a just and enlightened opinion of the character of this truly most extraordinary man, that we propose to act the part of an impartial historian, and furnish an outline of his history and writings. Everything in philosophy, in science, and in religion is brought before the severe ordeal of human reason, and is received or rejected according to its correspondence with, or opposition to, the great fundamental truths of nature and of God. Old opinions, old institutions, old habits of thought, are fast going into oblivion, before the triumphant spirit of free inquiry, which has extended itself over the whole face of the Christian world. This spirit is acquiring an astonishing strength in the minds of men, and is closely interweaving itself with the constitution of states and kingdoms, and gaining an ascendency over the civil and ecclesiastical powers of the world. The human mind, restless, feverish, and unsatisfied, is turning itself upon the past, and stretching its eager gaze into the future, in the hope of obtaining a clearer information on spiritual subjects than has yet been known. Nor does this hope involve anything which is inconsistent. Of this the pious and enlightened Dr. Watts seems convinced; for in his excellent little treatise on the Improvement of the Mind, after remarking "that the

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hope of new discoveries, as well as the satisfaction of known truths, should animate our daily industry," and "that we should never despair finding out that which has never yet been found," in the natural sciences, he makes the following observation: — "Nor should a student in divinity imagine that our age is arrived at a full understanding of everything which can be known by the Scriptures. Every age since the Reformation hath thrown some further light on difficult texts and paragraphs of the Bible, which have been long obscured by the early rise of Antichrist; and since there are at present many difficulties and darknesses hanging about certain truths of the Christian religion; and since several of these relate to important doctrines, which do still embarrass the minds of honest and inquiring readers, and which make work for noisy controversy; it is certain there are several things in the Bible yet unknown, and not sufficiently explained; and it is certain there is some way to solve these difficulties, and to reconcile these seeming contradictions. And why may not a sincere searcher of truth, in the present age, by labor, diligence, study, and prayer, with the best use of his reasoning powers, find out the proper solution of these knots and perplexities, which have hitherto been unsolved, and which have afforded matter for angry quarrelling? Happy is the man who shall be favored of heaven to give a helping hand towards the introduction of the blessed age of light and love."

Such, then, being the condition of the human mind, let us see whether there is anything in the character and writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, to give him credibility, as a philosopher and theologian, in the estimation of mankind, and to encourage and justify them in directing their attention to his works, with the expectation of obtaining therefrom any new light on the hitherto dark and insolvable mysteries of nature and of revelation.

Emanuel Swedenborg was born in Stockholm, Sweden, Jan. 29, 1688. His grandfather was a Miner at Fahlun. His father, Jesper Swedberg, was born in 1653; was bishop of Skara, in West Gothland; a member of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, formed on the plan of that in England; and president of the Swedish churches in England and America. He is represented as a man of learning and abilities, and of an amiable private character. He was ennobled in 1719,

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by the name of Swedenborg, and his descendants were introduced into the House of Nobles in 1720. He died in 1735.

Swedenborg was educated principally at the University of Upsala. Great care was bestowed by his father on his early education. His youth was marked by an uncommon assiduity and application in the study of philosophy, mathematics, natural history, chemistry, and anatomy, together with the Eastern and European languages, in which he was well versed. He had an excellent memory, quick conceptions, and a most clear judgment.

Of his childhood and youth there is no record excepting that his mind was early occupied by religious subjects. "From my fourth to my tenth year," says he, in a letter to Dr. Beyer, "my thoughts were constantly engrossed by reflecting upon God, on salvation, and on the spiritual passions of man. I often revealed things in my discourse which filled my parents with astonishment, and made them declare at times, that certainly the angels spoke through my mouth. From my sixth to my twelfth year, it was my greatest delight to converse with the clergy concerning faith, and I often observed to them, that charity or love was the life of faith, and that this vivifying charity or love was no other than the love of one's neighbor; that God vouchsafes this faith to every one; but that it is adopted by those only, who practise that charity."

His mind, in early life, was but little imbued with the prevailing theological doctrines of his time, as appears from the following extract: — "I was prohibited reading dogmatic and systematic theology, before heaven was opened to me, by reason that unfounded opinions and inventions might thereby easily have insinuated themselves, which with difficulty could afterwards have been extirpated; wherefore when heaven was opened to me, it was necessary to learn the Hebrew language, as well as the correspondences of which the whole Bible is composed, which led me to read the Word of God over many times; and inasmuch as the Word of God is the source whence all theology must be derived, I was thereby enabled to receive instruction from the Lord who is the Word."

Swedenborg had certain rules which he prescribed to himself for the the regulation of his conduct. These are found interspersed in various parts of his manuscripts, and are as follows: 1. Often to read and meditate on the Word of the Lord.

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2. To submit everything to the will of Divine Providence. 3. To observe in everything a propriety of behaviour, and always to keep the conscience clear. 4. To discharge with fidelity the functions of his employment, and the duties of his office, and to render himself in all things useful to society.

In 1716, at the age of 28 years, he was appointed by Charles XII. Assessor Extraordinary of his Board of Mines. He did not, however, enter upon the duties of his office till 1722, being unwilling to exercise its functions before he had acquired a perfect knowledge of metallurgy. The diploma appointing him to this office states, that "the King had a particular regard to the knowledge possessed by Swedenborg in the science of mechanics, and that his pleasure was that he should assist Polhammer, (afterwards called Polheim,) in constructing his mechanical works." Charles XII. is said to have been fond of devoting his leisure hours to the subject of mathematics and mechanism; and in Dr. Norberg's history of that king, are detailed many interesting conversations between Charles, Swedenborg, and Polheim.

Swedenborg spent the greater part of his time from 1716 to 1720, in Universities in England, Holland, France, and Germany. In 1721, he undertook a second journey into foreign countries to examine their mines and smelting works, particularly those of Saxony and the Hartz. He was particularly noticed, at this time, by the Duke of Brunswick, who did much to facilitate his travels, and afterwards published, at his own expense, Swedenborg's Opera Philosophica, which we shall have occasion to notice hereafter. He was absent on this journey but one year, during which time he published the following works, or rather pamphlets:—1. An Outline of a Work on the Principles of Natural Things, or a New Attempt at explaining the Phenomena of Chemistry and Physics on Geometrical Principles. 2. New Observations and Discoveries respecting Iron and Fire, especially respecting the Elementary Nature of Fire, with a new mode of constructing Chimnies. It is in this work that Swedenborg has fully developed all the principles on which the so-called Arnott Stove is constructed. It also contains a beautiful drawing of the same. 3. A New Method of finding the Longitude of Places either on Land or at Sea, by Lunar Observations; (to which work were appended the following tracts: first, A Mode of constructing Dry

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Docks for Shipping; second, A New Mode of constructing Dykes; third, A Mode of ascertaining by mechanical means the qualities of Vessels.) 4. Miscellaneous Observations on Natural Things, particularly on Minerals, Fire, and the Strata of Mountains.*

Previously to the publication of the above works, he published, when only 28 years of age, Essays on Mathematics and Physics, under the title of Dædalus Hyperboreus; An Introduction to Algebra; A Proposal for fixing the value of Coin, and determining the Measures of Sweden, so as to suppress Fractions and Facilitate Calculations; A Treatise on the Position of the Earth and the Planets; On the Height of Tides, and the greater Flux and Reflux of the Sea in former times, with proofs furnished by various appearances in Sweden.

In 1718 he executed a work of the greatest importance at the time of the siege of Frederickshall, where he gave evident proof of his extraordinary abilities. Charles could not send his heavy artillery to Frederickshall, on account of the badness of the roads, which were then deeply covered with snow. In this extremity, Swedenborg brought the sciences to the aid of valor. By help of proper instruments he cut through the mountains, raised the valleys which separated Sweden from Norway, and then sent to his master two galleys, five large boats, and a sloop, loaded with pieces of artillery, to be employed in the siege. The length of this canal was about two miles and a half, Swedish measure, or upwards of sixteen English miles. Mechanism, however, was not his only study; for he gave the Continuation of his Dædalus Hyperboreus in 1717 and 1718. He is said to have been the first person in Sweden who wrote on the subject of the integral and differential calculus.

In 1724 he was invited by the consistory of the university of Upsala to accept the professorship of pure mathematics, vacant by the death of Nils Celsius, because "his acceptance of the chair would be for the advantage of the students, and the ornament of the University;" but he declined the honor. He was admitted a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm in 1729; and was appointed a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg in 1734.

* All Swedenborg's works, both philosophical and theological, were written in Latin.

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He spent much time in Venice and Rome, about the year 1738, and on his return, published an account of his travels in Italy. He also visited Berlin, Dresden, Prague, and Carlsbad, in 1733, and, arriving at Leipsic at the end of the year, put to press a great work he had just completed. During the printing of this work he spent twelve months in visiting the Austrian and Hungarian mines.

The Philosophical and Mineral works (Opera Philosophica et Mineralia) of Swedenborg, were published at Dresden and Leipsic, in 1734, in 3 vols. folio, of about 400 pages each. These are three distinct works, each treating upon different subjects, and dedicated to different men; but they were published together, and were always alluded to by Swedenborg as one work. It was published in a very elegant style, at the expense of Ludovicus Rodolph, Duke of Brunswick, at whose court Swedenborg tarried for some time, receiving from him many marks of favor.

The first volume is entitled The Principles of Natural Things, or, New Attempts at a Philosophical Explanation of the Phenomena of the Elementary World. It is generally called Swedenborg's Principia. It is dedicated to the Duke of Brunswick, has an engraved likeness of Swedenborg, and is adorned with many fine engravings and copper-plates illustrative of the subjects treated of.

The Principia may be regarded as a treatise on cosmology. The author attempts to arrive at the cause and origin of the phenomena of the universe by a mode of inquiry peculiar to himself. He asserts that nature, in all her operations, is governed by one and the same general law, and is always consistent with herself; hence, he says, there is no necessity, in exploring her hidden recesses, to multiply experiments and observations. The means leading to true philosophy are represented as three-fold. Firstly, knowledge of facts, or experimental observations, which he calls Experience. Secondly, an orderly arrangement of these facts and phenomena, or Geometry, and Rational Philosophy; by means of which we are enabled to compare our experiments, to digest them analytically, to reduce them to laws, rules, and analogies, and thence to arrive at some more remote principle or fact which before was unknown. Thirdly, the Faculty of Reasoning, by which is meant the ability to analyze, compare, and combine these phe-

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nomena, after they have been reduced to order, and to present them distinctly to the mind. We here make an extract for the purpose of giving a specimen of his style at this period. Speaking of the futility of multiplying experiments and observations to the neglect of attending to their causes, he says: —

"Nature may be styled a labyrinth, whose intricacies you are anxious to explore. Fruitless would be the attempt to wander through its meandering turns, and note the dimensions of all its ways; the difficulty would but grow the more inextricable, you would pursue your footsteps in a circle; and recognise the self-same spot, when most elevated by the prospect of success. But would you gain with ease, and possibly by the shortest road, the exit of the labyrinth, reject then the senseless wish of exploring all its turns: rather plant yourself at any intersection of its paths, strive to ascertain somewhat of its general form, from the ways which you have trodden, and thus in some degree retrace your steps. When once you have gained the exit, a mere thread can serve to guide you through all its circuitous tracks, and to retrace your errors; but even this, after a time, you may cast aside, and wander fearlessly without it. Then, as if seated on an eminence, and at a glance surveying the scene which lies before you, how would you smile in tracing out its various breaks and contortions, which have baffled the judgment by multiplied and illusive intersections. But let us now return to the phenomena, and leave similitudes for the subject itself. By too great an accumulation of phenomena, and especially of those which are at a distance from their cause, you not only defeat the desire of scrutinizing the occult operations of nature, but plunge yourself more and more as into a labyrinth, where you are perpetually drawn aside from the end in view, and misled into a distant and contrary region. For it is possible that many things of opposite natures may exist from the same first cause; *as fire and water, and air which absorbs them both.*"

It is maintained by our author that no one can become a true philosopher who is not a *good man.* Previous to the fall, he says, when man was in a state of integrity, he had all the essentials of wisdom and true philosophy inscribed on his heart; he had then only to open his eyes in order to see the causes of all the phenomena of the universe around him; but in his present state of sin and non-conformity with Divine Order, he is obliged to investigate truths by a laborious external application of the mind. On this subject he says: —

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"No man seems capable of arriving at true philosophy, since that first of mortals who is said to have been in a state of the most perfect integrity, that is, who was formed and made according to all art, image, and connexion of the world, before the existence of vice. . . . . One reason why man in a state of integrity was made a complete philosopher, was, that he might better know how to venerate the Deity, the origin of all things, or that being who is all in all. For no man can be a complete and truly learned philosopher, without the utmost devotion for the Supreme Being. True philosophy and contempt of the Deity are two opposites. Veneration for the Infinite Being can never be separated from philosophy; for he who fancies himself wise whilst his wisdom does not teach him to acknowledge a Divine and Infinite Being, that is, who thinks he can possess any wisdom without a knowledge and veneration of the Deity, is in the profoundest ignorance."

The second part of this work treats of Magnetism and the variations of the magnetic needle. The third part treats of the sun and its vortex, of the creation of the planetary earths from the sun, of paradise and the first man. He alleges that there were seven planets created from the sun at the same time; he has eight or ten drawings illustrative of the subject, in all of which seven planets are laid down. This work was published more than forty years before the discovery of the seventh planet by Dr. Herschel.

It is believed that in this work Swedenborg made many discoveries in philosophy, which, owing to the little attention paid to his writings, have not been accredited to him. And from the following testimony of a philosopher of reputation in our own country, this belief appears to be not without some foundation. Dr. R. M. Patterson, late professor in the University of Pennsylvania, in a letter written to Dr. Atlee, respecting the Principia, says: —

"The work of Swedenborg, which you were so kind as to put into my hands, is an extraordinary production of one of the most extraordinary men, certainly, that has ever lived." And after stating, among other things, that he should like to peruse it farther before he could form an opinion of it, "a thing not to be done in few words," he continues; "This much, however, I can truly say; that the air of mysticism which is generally thought to pervade Baron Swedenborg's ethical and theological writings, has prevented philosophers from paying that attention

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to his physical productions, of which I now see that they are worthy. Many of the experiments and observations on magnetism, presented in this work, are believed to be of much more modern date, and *are unjustly ascribed to much more recent writers.*" Indeed it bas been frequently remarked, by other learned men, that several important discoveries in science, claimed by different writers, were anticipated, and in some cases minutely described, by Swedenborg. But more of this in what follows.

The second and third volumes of the work now under notice, are together called the Regnum Minerale; (the Mineral Kingdom;) but they are distinct works. The second volume is entitled,

The Subterranean or Mineral Kingdom, or a Treatise on Iron. It treats of the various methods employed in different parts of Europe, for the liquefaction of iron, and converting it into steel; of iron ore and the examination of it; and also of several experiments and chemical preparations made with iron and its vitriol. It is illustrated by a great number of fine copper engravings. A part of this volume has been translated into French, and inserted in the Description of Arts and Manufactures. The third volume is entitled,

The Subterranean or Mineral Kingdom, or a Treatise on Copper and Brass. It treats of the various methods adopted in different parts of Europe, for the liquefaction of copper; the method of separating it from silver, converting it into brass, and other metals; of Lapis Calaminaris; of Zinc; of Copper Ore, and the examination of it; and lastly, of several chemical preparations and experiments made with copper. Like the other volumes, it is illustrated with many copper engravings. Each volume is subdivided into three parts.

This work, in England, is esteemed very valuable. In the translation of Cramer's Elements of the Arts of Assaying Metals, by Dr. Cromwell Mortimer, Secretary to the Royal Society, it is mentioned by the translator in the following terms: "For the sake of such as understand Latin, we must not pass by that magnificent and laborious work of Emanuel Swedenborgius, entitled, Principia Rerum Naturalium, &c. Dresdæ et Leipsiæ, 1734, in three tomes, in folio; in the second and third tomes of which he has given the best accounts, not only of the methods and newest improvements in metallic works in all places beyond the seas, but also of those in Eng-

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land and our colonies in America, with draughts of the furnaces and instruments employed. It is to be wished we had extracts of this work in English." p. 13, 2d ed. London, 1764.

The Economy of the Animal Kingdom, (Œconomia Regni Animalis,) was published at Amsterdam, in 1740 – 1, in 4to. The first part treats of the Blood, the Arteries, the Veins, and the Heart; with an introduction to Rational Psychology. The second part treats of the Motion of the Brain, of the Cortical Substance, and of the Human Soul. Psychology is termed "the science which treats of the essence and nature of the soul, and of the mode by which she flows into the actions of the body."

The object of Swedenborg in investigating the organization of the human body, was to obtain a knowledge of the soul, which he was convinced had some correspondence with the body. It is everywhere maintained in his theological works that the mind fills and governs the whole body; that it corresponds with the whole and every part of the body; that when the mind of man is fully regenerated, it is fully in the human form, but when unregenerate, it is not in the human form. Therefore all purification and advancement in goodness and truth are seen, in the other world, as successive developments of the human form. By an angel the affections and thoughts are seen to operate according to the organic laws of the human system; and there is no secret operation in the internal structure of either the spiritual or natural body, which may not be seen from the light of heaven. Just in proportion, therefore, as a person is elevated above a knowledge of the comparatively imperfect anatomy of the human body to the more perfect organization of the human mind, the more light will he necessarily have concerning the anatomy of the body which corresponds to the mind. For this reason Swedenborg is supposed to have possessed a more perfect knowledge of the human system than any other man of any preceding or any subsequent age. It is well known to those who are acquainted with his Œconomia, that he has made many discoveries in anatomy which were afterwards attributed to others. This fact has been noticed and published by Mr. C. A. Tulk, of London, a gentleman who has paid much attention to Swedenborg's philosophical works.

In a work, entitled "The Institutions of Physiology," by Blumenbach, treating of the brain, he says, "that after birth it

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undergoes a constant and gentle motion correspondent with respiration; so that when the lungs shrink in expiration, the brain rises a little, but when the chest expands, it again subsides." In the note he adds, that Daniel Schlichting first accurately describes this phenomenon in 1744. Now it does so happen that Swedenborg had fully demonstrated and accurately described this correspondent action, in that chapter of the Œconomia Regni Animalis, which treats of the coincidence of motion between the brain and lungs. In another part of the same Institutions of Physiology, when speaking of the causes for the motion of the blood, Blumenbach has the following remark: —"When the blood is expelled from the contracted cavities, a vacuum takes place, into which, according to the common laws of *derivation*, the neighboring blood must rush, being prevented, by means of the valves, from regurgitating." In the notes, this discovery is attributed to Dr. Wilson, the author of *An Inquiry into the Moving Powers employed in the Circulation of the Blood.* But it appears that the same principle was known long before to Swedenborg; and is applied by him to account for the motion of the blood, in the Œconomia Regni Animalis. For in the section on the circulation of the blood in the fœtus, and on the *foramen ovale*, he says: —

"Let us now revert to the mode by which the cerebrum attracts its blood, or according to the theorem, subtracts that quantity which the ratio of its state requires. If now these arteries, veins, and sinus are dilated by reason of the animation of the cerebrum, it follows, that there must necessarily flow into them, thus expanded, a portion of fresh blood, and that indeed by continuity from the carotid artery, and its tortuous duct in the cavernous receptacles, and into this by continuity from the antecedent expanded and circumflexed cavities of the same artery; consequently from the external (or common) carotid, and thence from the aorta and the heart; nearly similar to a bladder or syphon full of water, one end of which is immersed in the fluid; if its sides be dilated, or its surface stretched out, and more especially if its length be shortened, an entirely fresh portion of the fluid flows into the space thus emptied by the enlargement; and this experience can demonstrate to ocular satisfaction. Now this is the beneficial result of a natural equation, by which nature, in order to avoid a vacuum, in which state she would perish, or be annihilated, is in the constant tendency towards an equilibrium, according to laws purely physical. This mode of action of the brains, and their arterial

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impletion, may justly be called physical attraction; not that it is attraction in the proper signification of the term, but that it is a filling of the vessels from a dilation or shortening of the coats, or a species of suction such as exists in pumps and syringes. A like mode of physical attraction obtains in every part of the body; as in the muscles, which, having forcibly expelled their blood, instantly require a re-impletion of their vessels."

In another part, p. 458, he says: —

"There exists a great similitude between the vessels of the heart, and the vessels of the brains, so much so, that the latter cannot be more appropriately compared with any other. 4. The vessels of the cerebrum perform their diastole, when the cerebrum is in its constriction, and *vice versâ;* so also the vessels of the heart. 5. In the vessels of the cerebrum there is a species of physical attraction or suction, such as that of water in a syringe; and this too is the case with the vessels of the heart, for in these, by being expanded and at the same time shortened, the blood necessarily flows, and that into the space thus enlarged." Swendenborg says also, "That it is this constant endeavor to establish a general equilibrium throughout the body, which determines its various fluids to every part, whether viscus or member, and which being produced by exhaustion, the effect is such a determination of the blood, or other fluid, as the peculiar state of the part requires."

There cannot be a doubt that had Swedenborg been desirous of fame, he would have made a different use of his knowledge. He regarded scientific knowledge only as a means of becoming wise. Speaking, in the Œconomia, of those who are in pursuit of genuine wisdom, he says: "They reckon the sciences and the mechanical arts, only among the ministers of wisdom, and they learn them as helps to their attainment, not that they may be reputed wise on account of their possessing them. They modestly restrain the external mind in its tendency to be elated and puffed up, because they perceive the sciences to form an ocean, of which they can only catch a few drops. They look at no one with a scornful brow or the spirit of superiority; nor do they arrogate any of their attainments to themselves. They refer all to the Deity, and regard them as gifts from him, from whom all true wisdom springs as from its fountain."

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There is another discovery in anatomy by Swedenborg, which was unknown to other learned men of his day. A passage of communication between the right and left, or two lateral ventricles of the cerebrum, was thought to have been first discovered by a celebrated anatomist of Edinburgh. But this is a mistake.

The first discovery and description of this passage was claimed by the celebrated anatomist, Dr. Alexander Monro, of Edinburgh, and has since been conceded to him by succeeding anatomists: hence it goes by the denomination of the *Foramen of Monro.* Dr. Monro read a paper before the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, on this subject, December 13, 1764; but in his work entitled, "Observations on the Structure and Functions of the Nervous System," he says, that he demonstrated this *Foramen* to his pupils so early as the year 1753. He allows that a communication was known and asserted to exist between these ventricles and the third, long prior to his time; but he shows, that it was never delineated after such a manner, nor in any way that could convey a precise idea respecting it; much less was implied the existence of the Foramen he describes.

The channel of communication seemed to be referred, chiefly, to the posterior part of the lateral ventricles, whilst the *Foramen* of Monro is situated at their anterior part.

Now in the Regnum Animale, (a work to be spoken of shortly,) p. 207, note (r), the following striking observation occurs: "The communicating *Foramina* in the *Cerebrum* are called *Anus* and *Vulva*, BESIDES *the passage or emissary canal of the lymph;* by these the lateral ventricles communicate with each other, and with the third ventricle."

This work was printed in the year 1714 – 15; but written, as we have reason to think, two or three years before its publication: hence the *foramen* here spoken of must have been described by Swedenborg from ten to twelve years prior to the earliest notice taken of it by Dr. Monro.

These are by no means the only instances in which his claims to new discoveries have been transferred to others. But we have not time to allude to others. Swedenborg's object did not appear to be to astonish the world by discoveries in natural science; hence no pains seem to have been taken to give circulation to his discoveries. His great object in investigating the organization of the human system, judging from his writings,

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was to attain to a knowledge of the nature, form, and constitution of the human mind. He ascertained that there were, in the composition of the blood, three distinct degrees; that the arteries, veins, &c. were also divided into three distinct degrees: the red blood is a substance of a lower degree, to which corresponds the purer or colorless blood, and to this again, the animal spirit, which holds a common and universal sway through the lower gradations. So in the *means* of carrying on the threefold circulation, the arteries are of the lowest degree, to which correspond in a higher degree the vessels for the purer blood, and in the highest, the medullary fibre, or simple nerve. The muscles have their several corresponding degrees in the carneous moving fibre, the white moving fibre, and the highest, the nervous moving fibre. Hence he concluded that there were three degrees in the human mind, answering to, and corresponding with, the three degrees in the human body. The first or lowest degree of the mind he termed sensual; the second degree, moral and intellectual; the third degree, spiritual; to the first he ascribed the province of the natural sciences, and the enjoyment of sensual delights; to the second, rational wisdom, and the enjoyment of social order; to the third, spiritual truths relating to heavenly life. He made the salvation and happiness of man to consist in the due subordination of the several parts, the lower being always subject to the higher degrees.

Continuing earnest in the pursuit of physiology, he published, in 1744, The Animal Kingdom, (Regnum Animale,) in three parts. The first two parts were printed at Amsterdam, in 1744, and the third at London, 1745; they make together a thick quarto volume. The first part treats of the Viscera of the Abdomen; the second of the Viscera of the Thorax, and the third of the Organs of Sense. It appears that it was Swedenborg's intention, when he commenced this work, to have extended it to great length; for, in the introduction, he promised, besides the subjects above named, to attempt the following: —

"It is my purpose afterwards to attempt a kind of Introduction to a Rational Psychology, or to establish some new Doctrines, by the aid of which we may be led from the material organization of the body, to the knowledge of its soul, which is immaterial; namely, the Doctrine of Forms; the Doctrine of Order, and of Degrees; also the Doctrine of Series and of Society; the Doctrine of Influxes; the Doctrine of Corre-

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spondences and of Representations; lastly, the Doctrine of Modifications.

"From these doctrines I shall proceed to a Rational Psychology itself, or to a Treatise concerning Action; concerning External and Internal Sense; concerning Imagination and Memory; as also concerning the Affections of the Mind, (animus); concerning Intellect, or concerning Thought and Will; concerning likewise the Affections of the Rational Mind (mens); and concerning Instinct.

"Lastly, concerning the Soul and its State in the Body, its Commerce, Affection, Immortality; also concerning its State after the Life of the Body: to which will finally be added the Concordance to the various Systems. Since the soul exerts her activity in supreme and inmost principles, and cannot be brought forth to view, until all the coverings with which she is enveloped are unfolded in order, I have determined not to desist from this part of my task, until I have traversed the whole field above mentioned, even to the goal; in other words, until I have explored the whole animal kingdom even to the soul. Thus it is my hope, if I bend my course continually inwards, that I shall be enabled, through divine favor, to open all the doors which lead to her presence, and at length to be admitted to the view and contemplation of herself." — But for some cause this purpose was not carried into effect.

At the beginning of 1745, Swedenborg published in two parts, 4to, "The Worship and Love of God," (De Cultu et Amore Dei.) The first part treats of the Origin of the Earth, of Paradise, of the Birth, Infancy, and Love of the First Man, or Adam. The second part treats of the Marriage of the First Man; of the Soul, the Intellectual Spirit, of the State of Integrity, and of the Image of God. This book is a sublimation of Swedenborg's scientific system, with a correlative statement of his psychical doctrines, in which both are blended, and clothed with the narrative form; it is the link between his physiology and a class of doctrines which was yet to come. It was written previous to his professed illumination, but was not published until after that period. The style of this work is rather peculiar, and differs from that of all other works written before or after it.

In explaining the subject of creation the principle maintained by him, is, that seven planets were created at the same time from the sun of our solar system. It is to be observed that this book was published long before the actual discovery of the seventh planet by Dr. Herschel.

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The most important principle contained in this work is that of the creation of the earth from the sun as its proximate cause. To those who are accustomed to think that the earth was created out of nothing, the above idea may seem strange. But Swedenborg thinks that those who reflect on Providence as operating according to the laws of order, will see proofs enough in the works of nature of the principle of creation as laid down by him. It is but reasonable to conclude that the creation of the earth from the sun, in the first instance, could not have differed, essentially, from the re-creation which we see constantly taking place. It is known in botany, that a tree is created anew every year. The outer bark and the wood, which constitutes the middle of the tree, are merely the relics of successive productions or creations. The same law extends to the whole vegetable kingdom. Thus we see that the earth is continually created anew by the operation of heat and light from the sun. All things in the natural world are dependent for life and support on the sun, even as our affections and thoughts, and whatever we have that is spiritual within us, depend for their support and continuance on the sun of the spiritual world, which is directly from the Lord himself. In the operations of outward nature, the man of reflection will thus perceive an image of the work which is going on within him; while his natural man is delighted with a view of the earth's richest scenery, his spiritual man is interested in things appertaining to his immortality.

We shall now endeavor to take a brief review of Swedenborg's scientific progress, with particular reference to method, principles, and doctrines. His proper career may be dated from the publication of the "Prodromus Principiorum." In this work he attempted to account for chemical combination, by a theory of the forms and forces of the particles of bodies; and to resolve chemistry into natural geometry, that it might have the benefit of first principles, and the rank of a fixed science. Of these forms he gave many delineations. He broached the ingenious doctrine, that the particles of primary solids are moulded in the interstices of fluids, and take the shape of these interstices; and that particles so modeled, by undergoing fracture at their weakest points, give rise to new shapes, which become the initial particles of new substances. He anticipated Dr. Wollaston's suggestion of the spheroidal compo-

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sition of crystals, as well as the atomic theory of Dalton, and even some of its details, as when, geometrically predicting the composite nature of water, he assigned to it the equivalent of 9.

The rules which he proposed for investigating the constitution of the magnetic, luminous, and atmospheric elements come next under our notice. 1. That we take for granted, that nature acts by the simplest means, and that the particles of elements are of the simplest and least artificial forms. 2. That the beginning of nature is the same as the beginning of geometry; that natural particles arise from mathematical points, precisely as lines, forms, and the whole of geometry; and this, because everything in nature is geometric; and *vice versâ*. 3. That all the above elements are capable of simultaneous motion, in one and the same place; and that each moves naturally without hinderance from the others. 4. That ascertained facts be the substratum of theory, and that no step be taken without their guidance.

From these rules we pass to their application, in the outset to which Swedenborg boldly averred that the records of science, accumulated as they had been for thousands of years, were sufficient for an examination of things on principles, and *a priori*; that a knowledge of natural philosophy does not presuppose the knowledge of innumerable phenomena, but only of principal facts which proceed directly, and not of those which result obliquely and remotely, from the world's mechanism and powers; and that the latter species of facts confuse and disturb, rather than inform the mind. Also, that the restless desire, from age to age, for more facts, is characteristic of those who are unable to reason from principles and causes, and that no abundance would ever be sufficient for such persons. The following is a statement of the doctrine of the elemental world proposed in the "Principia." 1. In the simple (substance) there is an internal state and corresponding effort tending to a spiral motion. 2. In the first finite which arises from it there is a spiral motion of the parts; so also in all the other finites. 3. From this single cause there arises in every finite a progressive motion of the parts, a motion of the whole on its axis, and if there be no obstacle, a local motion also. 4. If a local motion ensues, an active arises; each active similar to the others. 5. From finites and actives arise elementaries, each so similar to the others, as to differ from them only in degree and di-

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mension. Thus we presume the existence of only three kinds of entities, — finites, actives, and their compounds, elementaries, of which the finites occupy the surface, the actives the interiors. With regard to the finites, one is generated from the other, and they are all exactly similar, excepting in degree and dimension: thus the fifth finite is similar to the fourth, the fourth to the third, the third to the second, the second to the first, and the first to the simple; so that when we know the nature of one finite, we know that of all. Precisely the same may be said of the actives and of the elementaries. In the effort of the simple towards spiral motion lies the single cause and the first force of all subsequent existences. Swedenborg first states these doctrines synthetically, and then educes the same from, and confirms them by the phenomena of nature. We may here, with propriety, introduce a remark from Sandel: — "He thus formed to himself a system founded upon a certain species of mechanism, and supported by reasoning; a system, the arrangement of which is so solid, and the composition so serious, that it claims and merits all the attention of the learned; as for others, they may do better not to meddle with it."

In approaching the human body, he again insisted on the necessity for principles and generalization, without which, he said, "facts themselves would grow obsolete and perish;" adding that "unless we were much mistaken, the destinies of the world were leading to this issue." A knowledge of the soul became the professed object of his inquiry, and he entered the circus with a resolve to examine thoroughly the world, or microcosm, which the soul inhabits, in the assurance that she should be sought for nowhere but in her own kingdom. In this search he repudiated synthesis, and resolved to approach the soul by the analytic way, adding, that he believed himself to be the first investigator who had ever commenced with this intention; a surmise in which he is probably correct. We shall here content ourselves with a brief illustration of one of these doctrines which, with the most intense study, he elaborated for his guidance; we mean the "doctrine of series and degrees." We have slightly alluded to it already. Each organ, he observed, commences from certain unities or least parts which are peculiar to it, and derives its form from their gradual composition, and its general function from the sum of their particular functions. The mass is therefore the representative of its minute compo-

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nents, and its structure and functions indicate theirs. The vesicles or smallest parts peculiar to the lungs are so many least lungs; the biliary radicles of the liver, so many least livers; the cellules of the spleen, so many least spleens; the tubuli of the kidneys, so many least kidneys; and the same function is predicable of these leasts, as of their entire respective organs, but with any modification which experience may declare to be proper to the minuter structures. This new method of analysis, in which the greatest things were presumed to indicate the least, with just such reservation as our experience of the least necessitates, was designed to throw light on the intimate structure and occult offices of single organs, — the same way identified the higher with the lower groups of organs, — the cranial with the thoracic, and both with the abdominal viscera. Whatever is manifested in the body is transferable to the brain, as the source of all functions and structures. If the abdominal organs supply the blood with a terrestrial nourishment, the thoracic supply it with an aerial, and the brain with an etherial food. If the first mentioned organs, by the urinary and intestinal passages, eliminate excrements and impurities, so the lungs by the trachea, and the brain through the sinuses, reject a subtler defilement. If the heart and blood-vessels are channels of a corporeal circulation, the brain and nerves, or spirit-vessels, are channels of a transcendent or spirituous circulation. If the contractility of the arteries and of muscular structures depends on the nervous system, it is because that system is itself eminently contractile, and impels forward its contents in the most perfect manner. If the lungs have a respiratory rising and falling, and the heart a contraction and expansion, so the brain has an animatory movement, which embraces both the motions of the lower series. Thus every function is first to be traced to its essential form in the bosom of its own organ, and thence, through an ascending scale, to the brain, "which is eminently muscle, and eminently gland; in a word, which is eminently the microcosm, when the body is regarded as a microcosm."

On the whole we may admit these works to be a grand consolidation of human knowledge; an attempt to combine and reorganize the opinions of all the schools of medicine since the days of Hippocrates. The doctrines of the fluidists, of the mechanical and chemical physicians, and of the vitalists, and solidists, as well as the methods of the dogmatists and em-

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pirics, and even the miscellaneous novelties of the present day, have each a proportion and a place in the catholic system of Swedenborg. His works, however, are a dead letter to the medical profession, or known only to its erudite members through the ignorant misstatements of Haller. The English scholar, however, will soon be put in possession of some of the best of Swedenborg's philosophical works, and then, but not till then, will justice be done to the memory of the immortal philosopher.*

Swedenborg's name had been most deservedly enrolled among the academicians at Upsala, Stockholm, and Petersburg; and several distinguished foreigners were anxious to have the honor and advantage of corresponding with him. Wolfius, with many other learned men, valued his correspondence and consulted him on the most difficult subjects. The editors of the Acta Eruditorum, at Leipsic, found in his works a rich harvest to ornament their collection with. The authors, also, of the magnificent Description of Arts and Trades, which are carried on at Paris, found the second part of Swedenborg's work on Iron and the Preparation of Steel, which abounds with valuable information, of so much consequence, that they translated and inserted the whole in their collection of the best things written on these subjects.

Having given an account of the principal works, which Swedenborg published before he undertook to write on theology, it will now be proper, following out our plan as an impartial historian, to state that about 1743 or 1744, an extraordinary change seems to have taken place in his studies and pursuits. His views were directed to subjects which he conceived to be

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* The Rev. Augustus Clissold, a learned and highly esteemed clergyman of the Established Church, and author of several very valuable works, has translated and is now publishing, at his own expense, the "Principia," the "Prodromus," and the "Economy of the Animal Kingdom" by Swedenborg. They will appear with numerous notes and plates to facilitate the comprehension of the text.

It gives us pleasure also to state that Dr. J. J. G. Wilkinson, a learned and eminent physician of London, is doing the same with another of Swedenborg's works, entitled "The Animal Kingdom (Regnum Animale.) This work will appear in two volumes, 8vo. It is proposed that all these works shall be published, as far as is possible, uniformly, so as to constitute a regular series. Some of these works are expected to be on sale in this country in the course of the present season, and all of them in the course of a year.

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of infinitely greater importance than those of mere literature and science. By many persons the reputation of Baron Swedenborg (who, after the death of Charles XII. at the siege of Frederickshall, was taken under the protection of queen Ulrica Eleonora, the sister and successor of that hero, and, in 1719, was ennobled by her and named Swedenborg, from which time he took his seat with the nobles of the Equestrian Order in the Triennial Assemblies of the States) as a philosopher, and the high consideration in which he was held by the public academies of Europe, and by learned men of all nations, would have been prized almost beyond measure; but by him they were not so regarded, when he came to enter upon that new scene, which he now states to have opened before him.

"Whatever of worldly honor and advantage," says he, "may appear to be in the things before-mentioned, I hold them but as matters of low estimation, when compared to the honor of that holy office to which the Lord himself hath called me, who was graciously pleased to manifest himself to me, his unworthy servant, in a personal appearance, in the year 1743; to open in me a sight of the spiritual world, and to enable me to converse with angels and spirits; and this privilege has continued with me to this day. From that time I began to print and publish various unknown Arcana, that have either been seen by me or revealed to me, concerning Heaven and Hell, the state of man after death, the true worship of God, the spiritual sense of the Scriptures, and many other important truths tending to salvation and true wisdom. And that mankind might receive benefit from these communications, was the only motive which has induced me at different times to leave my home to visit other countries. As to this world's wealth I have what is sufficient; and more I neither seek nor wish for."

The extraordinary event, or impression of his mind, here related, was followed by a series of theological publications, which have no parallel in the annals of Christianity. We give the titles of them in the order in which they appeared; and as they have obtained in the world no small notice, even among persons of sound judgment and most amiable dispositions, we shall allow them to stand on their own merits, and leave the reader to form his own opinion of the nature of their contents. 1. Arcana Cœlestia, or Heavenly Mysteries, contained in the Sacred Scriptures, or Word of the Lord: being an explanation

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of the spiritual sense of the books of Genesis and Exodus; interspersed with relations of wonderful things seen in the world of spirits, and the heaven of angels. In 8 vols. 4to. London: 1749 to 1756; published in this country in 12 vols. 8vo., of about 500 pages each. 2. De Cœlo et Inferno, ex Auditis et Visis; a treatise concerning Heaven and Hell, and the wonderful things heard and seen there. London: 1758. 8vo., pp. 400. 3. De Nova Hierosolyma, et Ejus Doctrina Cœlesti; concerning the New Jerusalem, and its Heavenly Doctrine. London, 1758, 12mo., pp. 72. 4. De Ultimo Judicio et Babylonia Destructa; concerning the Last Judgment, and the Destruction of Babylon; London, 1758. 5. De Equo Albo, de quo in Apocalypsi; concerning the White Horse, mentioned in the Revelation; London, 1758. 6. De Telluribus in Mundo nostro Solari, quæ vocantur Planetæ, &c.; concerning the Earths in our Solar System, and in the Starry heaven, with an account of their Inhabitants, &c. London, 1758. 7. Doctrina Novæ Hierosolymæ de Domino; the Doctrine of the New Jerusalem, concerning the Lord; Amsterdam, 1763. 8. Doctrina Novæ Hierosolymæ de Scriptura Sacra seu Verbo Domini; the doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning the Sacred Scriptures or Word of the Lord; Amsterdam, 1763. 9. Doctrina Vitæ pro Nova Hierosolyma, ex Præceptis Decalogi; the Doctrine of Life for the New Jerusalem, from the Precepts of the Decalogue; Amsterdam, 1763. 10. Doctrina Novæ Hierosolymæ de Fide; the doctrine of the New Jerusalem concerning Faith; Amsterdam, 1763. 11. Continuatio de Ultimo Judicio, et de Mundo Spirituali; Continuation concerning the Last Judgment, and concerning the Spiritual World; Amsterdam, 1763. 12. Sapientia Angelica de Divino Amore et Divina Sapientia; Angelic Wisdom concerning Divine Love and Divine Wisdom; Amsterdam, 1764. 13. Sapientia Angelica de Divina Providentia; Angelic Wisdom concerning Divine Providence; Amsterdam, 1764. 14. Apocalypsis Revelata; The Apocalypse Revealed; Amsterdam, 1766. 15. Deliciæ Sapientiæ de Amore Conjugiali, &c.; The Delights of Wisdom concerning Conjugal Love; after which follow the Pleasures of Insanity concerning Scortatory Love; Amsterdam, 1768. 16. Summaria Expositio Doctrinæ Novæ Ecclesiæ; A Brief Exposition of the Doctrine of the New Church; Amsterdam, 1769. 17. De Commercio Animæ et Corporis; concerning the Intercourse between the Soul and the Body;

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Amsterdam, 1769. 18. Vera Christiana Religio, continens Universalem Theologiam Novæ Ecclesiæ; The True Christian Religion, containing the Universal Theology of the New Church; Amsterdam, 1771.

These works have all been translated into English, and circulated very extensively both in Great Britain and America. The author left behind him many other works in manuscript, of which the following have been printed: 1. A Coronis or Appendix to the True Christian Religion; London, 1780. 2. An Hieroglyphic Key to Natural and Spiritual Mysteries, by way of Representations and Correspondencies; London, 1784. 3. A Summary Exposition of the Internal Sense of the Prophetical Books of the Old Testament, and of the Psalms of David; London, 1784. 4. Apocalypse Explained according to the Spiritual Sense; in 6 vols. 8vo., of about 500 pages each; London, 1785 to 1789.

Sublime things are announced by all these titles; and though the works are many, and embrace a great variety of subjects, they all assume to be connected by one chain of argument and illustration. The application requisite to produce so many and such important works, not allowing him to continue the necessary functions of his office as assessor, beyond the year 1747, he resigned his situation in the Royal College, and obtained in the same year permission from the king to retire, and to retain his salary as an appointment for life, without any prejudice to his title and rank. He assisted as a member of the house of nobles during several diets; and his behavior was such as to procure him universal esteem and respect. He was honored with the favor and particular kindness of the kings who reigned during his time; and all who had the happiness of enjoying his company soon became sensible of his superior wisdom, erudition, and virtue.

Of the particular circumstances connected with the appointment of this extraordinary man to the office, which he says he was called by the Lord to perform, we have no account that can be depended upon, but that which he has himself given in several of his printed works, particularly in his work entitled "True Christian Religion," in the chapter on the consummation of the age, the coming of the Lord, and the new heaven and the new church, ns. 779, 780; from which we quote the following passage: —

"That this second coming of the Lord is effected by means of

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a man, before whom He has manifested himself, and whom He has filled with his spirit, and who is able not only to receive the doctrines of the New Church with his understanding, but also to publish them by the press. That the Lord has manifested himself before me, his servant, and sent me on this office, and that, after this, He opened the sight of my spirit, and thus let me into the spiritual world, and gave me to see the heavens and the hells, and also to speak with angels and spirits, and this now continually for many years, I testify in truth; and also that, from the first day of that call, I have not received any thing which pertains to the doctrines of that church from any angel, but from the Lord alone, while I read the Word. To the end that the Lord might be constantly present, he has disclosed to me the spiritual sense of the Word, in which divine truth is in its light, and in this He is continually present; for his presence in the Word is only by means of the spiritual sense; through the light of this He passes into the shade in which the sense of the letter is; comparatively as it happens with the light of the sun in the day time, by the interposition of a cloud."

A similar statement is made in n. 851 of the same work, where he asserts, "that the privilege of conversing with angels and spirits had continued with him for 27 years," that is, from 1743 to 1770, when he wrote that work two years before his death.

It may be easily supposed that the extraordinary nature of the writings of Swedenborg would make him an object of surprise to those who became acquainted with him during his life; and that investigation should succeed the excitement of curiosity. We find, accordingly, that several persons were desirous to ascertain whether his alleged communication with the spiritual world was really true. They adopted certain tests which were applied to the subject in question, and which, no doubt, were considered as rigorous as caution could suggest. Two of the most extraordinary instances of Swedenborg's access to the spiritual world, which we find on record, are those respecting the Countess de Martville, whose husband was ambassador at the Swedish court from Holland, and the Queen of Sweden, Louisa Ulrica, wife of King Adolphus Frederic and sister of the celebrated Frederic of Prussia. We will give it in the Queen's own words, as recorded, together with the anecdote of the countess de Martville, by an author who probably cannot be suspected of any partiality in favor of Swedenborg; we

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mean M. Dieudonné' Thibault, a French *savant* of the school of Voltaire, and Professor of Belles Lettres in the Royal Academy of Berlin. The fact occurred in 1759.

"M. Thiebault says, I know not on what occasion it was, that, conversing one day with the Queen on the subject of the celebrated visionary, Swedenborg, we (the members of the Academy) expressed a desire, particularly M. Merian and myself, to know what opinion was entertained of him in Sweden. I on my part related what had been told me respecting him by Chamberlain d'Hamon, who was still alive, and who had been ambassador from Prussia both to Holland and France. It was, 'that his brother-in-law, (the Count de Martville,) Ambassador from Holland to Stockholm, having died suddenly, a shopkeeper demanded of his widow the payment of a bill for some articles of drapery, which she remembered had been paid in her husband's life-time; that the widow, not being able to find the shopkeeper's receipt, had been advised to consult with Swedenborg, who, she was told, could converse with the dead whenever he pleased; that she accordingly adopted his advice, though she did so less from credulity than curiosity; and at the end of a few days Swedenborg informed her, that her deceased husband had taken the shopkeeper's receipt for the money on such a day, at such an hour, as he was reading such an article in Bayle's Dictionary in his cabinet; and that his attention being called immediately afterwards to some other concern, he had put the receipt into the book to mark the place at which he left off; where in fact it was found, at the page described!' The Queen replied, that though she was but little disposed to believe in such seeming miracles, she had nevertheless been willing to put the power of M. Swedenborg, with whom she was acquainted, to the proof; that she was previously acquainted with the anecdote I had related, and it was one of those that had most excited her astonishment, though she had never taken the pains to ascertain the truth of it; but that M. Swedenborg having come one evening to her court, she had taken him aside, and begged him to inform himself of her deceased brother, the Prince Royal of Prussia, what he said to her at the moment of her taking leave of him for the Court of Stockholm. She added, that what she had said was of a nature to render it impossible that the Prince could have repeated it to any one, nor had it ever escaped her own lips: that some days after, Swedenborg returned, when she was seated at cards, and requested she would grant him a private audience; to which she replied, he might communicate what he had to say before the company: but Swedenborg assured her he could not

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disclose his errand in the presence of witnesses; that in consequence of this intimation the Queen became agitated, gave her cards to another lady, and requested M. de Schwerin (who also was present when she related the story to us) to accompany her; that they accordingly went together into another apartment, where she posted M. de Schwerin at the door, and advanced towards the farthest extremety of it with Swedenborg; who said to her, 'You took, madam, your last leave of the Prince of Prussia, your late august brother, at Charlottenburg, on such a day, and at such an hour of the afternoon; as you were passing afterwards through the long gallery, in the castle of Charlottenburg, you met him again; he then took you by the hand, and led you to such a window, where you could not be overheard, and then said to you these words; ———.' The Queen did not repeat the words, but she protested to us they were the very same her brother had pronounced, and that she retained the most perfect recollection of them. She added, that she nearly fainted at the shock she experienced; and she called on M. de Schwerin to answer for the truth of what she had said; who, in his laconic style, contented himself with saying, 'All you have said, madam, is perfectly true, at least as far as I am concerned.' The Queen in consequence of this intelligence, was taken ill, and did not recover herself for some time. After she was come to herself, she said to those about her, 'There is only God and my brother who can know what he has just told me.'"

The relator of the next occurrence is Dr. Stilling, Counsellor at the court of the Duke of Baden, in a work entitled *Die Theory der Geister-Kunde*, printed at Nuremberg in 1808. The following is an abridgment of his narrative.

"About the year 1770, there was a merchant in Elberfield, with whom I lived seven years in the most intimate friendship. He was much attached to mystical writings; but was a man of good sense, and one who would not tell a wilful untruth for all the world. He travelled on business to Amsterdam, where, at that time, Swedenborg was. Having heard and read a great deal of this extraordinary man, he went to see him. He found a very venerable and friendly looking old gentleman, who received him politely; when the following dialogue took place. After some preparatory remarks, the *Merchant* said, 'I think you will not be displeased with a sincere friend of the truth, if he desires an irrefutable proof, that you really have communication with the spiritual world.' *Swedenborg.* 'It would indeed be very wrong, if I were displeased; but I believe I have given already proofs enough, which cannot be refuted.' *M.* 'Do you

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mean those respecting the Queen, the fire of Stockholm, and the mislaid receipt?' *S.* 'Yes, I do; and they are true.' *M.* 'May I be so free as to ask for a proof of the same kind?' *S.* 'Why not? with all my heart.' *M.* 'I had a friend, a student of Divinity at Daysburg: a little before his decease we had an important conversation together: now could you learn from him what was the subject of it?' *S.* 'We will see:—come to me again in a day or two: I will see if I can find your friend.' The merchant returned accordingly; when Swedenborg met him with a smile, and said, 'I have spoken with your friend: the subject of your discourse was, the final restoration of all things.' Swedenborg then repeated to the merchant, word for word, what he and his deceased friend had maintained. My friend, says Dr. Stilling, turned pale; for this proof was irresistible. Perfectly convinced, my friend left the extraordinary man, and travelled back again to Elberfield."

Mr. Springer relates, from his own knowledge, the following instance of a similar kind.

"Fifteen years ago (dated from 1782) Swedenborg was leaving London for Sweden, and begged of me (as Swedish Consul) to engage his passage with a good captain. I agreed with one named Dixon. When the captain came to fetch him on board, I took leave of him and wished him a good voyage: then turning to the captain, I asked if he had laid in a good stock of provisions; to which he answered, that he had as much as was necessary. On this Swedenborg interposed, and said, 'My friend, we shall not have occasion for much; for, by the help of God, on this day week, at two o'clock, we shall enter the harbor of Stockholm.' Which assertion, Captain Dixon informed me on his return, was exactly fulfilled."

Another similar instance is related by Mr. Robsam.

"I met Swedenborg in his carriage, as he was setting off on his journey to London, the last time but one. I asked him how he could venture on such a voyage at the age of eighty years: 'Do you think,' I added, 'I shall see you any more?' 'Do not make yourself uneasy, my friend,' he replied: 'if you live we shall see one another again: for I have another of these journeys to make after the present.' He returned accordingly. The last time of his leaving Sweden he came to see me the day he was setting off. I again asked him if we should see one another any more. He answered with a tender and affecting air, 'I do not know whether I shall return: but I am assured that I shall not die till I have finished the printing of my

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work entitled *True Christian Religion*, which is the object of my journey. But if we do not see each other any more in this lower world, we shall meet in the presence of the Lord, if we have kept his commandments.' He did, accordingly, finish the printing of his last work here mentioned at Amsterdam; and he died at London not very long afterwards."

In the affidavit of the Shearsmiths, also, it is declared, that he told one of them on what day he should die a month before it happened: he made the same communication to another person.

One more, and we have done with these relations. Respecting Swedenborg's communication with the spiritual world, Mr. Springer, Swedish Consul, in his letter to Pernetti, makes the following statement.

"All that Swedenborg has related to me respecting my deceased acquaintances, both friends and enemies, and the secrets that were between us, almost surpasses belief. He explained to me in what manner the peace was concluded between Sweden and the king of Prussia; and he praised my conduct on that occasion: he even told me who were the three great personages of whom I made use in that affair; which, nevertheless, was an entire secret between them and me. I asked him how he could be informed of such particulars, and who had discovered them to him? He answered, 'Who informed me of your affair with Count Ekelblad? You cannot deny the truth of what I have told you. Continue,' he added, 'to deserve his reproaches: turn not aside, either for riches or honors, from the path of rectitude, but on the contrary, keep steadily in it, as you have done, and you will prosper.'"

During his latter years, Bishop Felenius and Dr. Ekebon instigated a prosecution against him in the consistory of Göttenburg, whence it was transferred to the Diet. Dr. Ekebon denounced his doctrines as "full of the most intolerable fundamental errors, seducing, heretical, and captious;" and stated furthermore, that "*he did not know Assessor Swedenborg's religious system, and would take no pains to come at the knowledge of it.*" Swedenborg addressed a letter to the king in relation to his persecutions, which, had we room, we would gladly transcribe. It is certainly a masterly production. He, however, came out of these trials with safety, unaccused by the Diet, and protected by the king. Towards Christmas, 1771, while in London, he had a stroke of the palsy, from which he

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never perfectly recovered. A report has been circulated that he recanted his claims during his last illness; but this is a mistake. M. Ferelius, minister of the Swedish Lutheran church in London, who visited him on his death-bed, and administered the sacrament to him, wrote as follows (the 31st March, 1780) to Prof. Trätgard of Griefswalde: —

"I asked him if he thought he was going to die, and he answered in the affirmative: upon which I requested him, since many believed that he had invented his new theological system merely to acquire a great name, (which he had certainly obtained,) to take this opportunity of proclaiming the real truth to the world, and to recant either wholly or in part what he had advanced; especially as his pretensions could now be of no further use to him. Upon this, Swedenborg raised himself up in bed, and, placing his hand upon his breast, said with earnestness, 'Everything that I have written is as true as that you now behold me: I might have said much more, had it been permitted me. After death you will see all; and then we shall have much to say to each other on this subject.'"

Swedenborg died at London, in Great Bath Street, Coldbath Fields, on the 29th of March, 1772, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. His body was buried in the Swedish church in Ratcliff highway.

The following are, according to one of his respectable followers, the chief articles of doctrine deducible from the whole of Baron Swedenborg's Theological writings, and it may be interesting to give them. 1. That Jehovah God, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth, is a Being of infinite love, wisdom, and power; that He is one in essence and in person; in whom, nevertheless, is a Divine Trinity, consisting of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, like soul, body, and operation in man; and that the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is that God. 2. That Jehovah God himself came down from heaven as divine Truth, which is the Word, and took upon him human nature, for the purpose of subduing and removing the powers of darkness, of restoring the spiritual world to order, of preparing the way for a new church upon earth, and thus of accomplishing the great work of redemption: that through the process of sufferings and temptations, he also glorified his humanity by uniting it with his essential divinity; and that all who believe in him from the heart, with the understanding, and in the life, will be saved. 3. That the Word of the Lord, or

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Sacred Scripture, was written by divine inspiration; that it contains an internal spiritual sense for the use of angels in heaven, and an external natural sense for the use of men upon earth; and that in each sense it is holy and divine. That these two senses, the spiritual and the natural, are united by correspondences, like soul and body; and thus that the Word is the medium of communication with heaven, and of conjunction with the Lord. 4. That all evils, whether of affection, of thought, or of life, ought to be shunned as sins against God, because they proceed from the devil, that is, from hell, and destroy in man the capacity of enjoying the happiness of heaven. But that, on the other hand, good affections, good thoughts, and good actions, ought to be cherished and performed, because they are of God, and from God; and that every act of love and charity, of justice and equity, both towards society in general and towards individuals in particular, ought to be done by man as of himself, nevertheless under the acknowledgment and belief that they are really and truly from the Lord, operating in him and by him. 5. That man, during his abode in the world, is kept in a state of spiritual equilibrium between heaven and hell, or good and evil, in consequence of which he enjoys free will in spiritual as well as natural things, and has the capacity either of turning himself to the Lord, or of separating himself from the Lord; that so far as he does the work of repentance, and lives in charity according to the truths of faith, so far his sins are remitted, that is to say, so far his evils are removed; and in the same proportion also he is regenerated, or created anew by the Lord. 6. That man is not life in himself, but only a recipient of life from the Lord, who alone is life in himself; which life is communicated by influx to all in the spiritual world, whether belonging to heaven or to hell, and to all in the natural world; but is received differently by each according to the quality of the recipient subject. 7. That adequate means of salvation are, by the divine mercy and providence of the Lord, extended to all of the human race without exception; and consequently that men of every persuasion or denomination upon the face of the earth, whether they be Christians, Jews, Mahometans, or Pagans, may be saved, if they live in mutual love and charity from religious motives, according to the best of their knowledge and understanding. But that nevertheless the new and true Christian religion, inasmuch as it is more immediately derived from our Lord and

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Saviour Jesus Christ, who is the One only God of heaven and earth, is of all religions the most capable of effecting close and intimate conjunction with him; and on that account is to be esteemed more excellent, more heavenly, and more divine than any other. 8. That every event or occurrence in human life, whether of prosperity or of adversity, is under the immediate superintendence and direction of the Divine Providence; and that nothing does or can befal man, either in his collective or in his individual capacity, but what even in the most minute, as well as in the more important circumstances attending it, is made to contribute in a way known only to infinite wisdom, to the final benefit and advantage of those who love and obey the Lord. 9. That immediately on the death of the material body, which will never be reassumed, man rises again as to his spiritual or substantial body, wherein he exists in a perfect human form, with every faculty which he before enjoyed; and that his eternal state, as to happiness or misery hereafter, will altogether depend on the quality of his past life, whether it has been good or evil. 10. But that with respect to children dying before they come to the use of reason, and the exercise of their own judgment, all such, whether baptized or unbaptized, whether within the Christian church or without it, and whether they be the offspring of godly or of ungodly parents, are received into heaven by the Lord, and after instruction, or improvement in understanding and wisdom, participate in all the happiness and perfection of angels. 11. That there is not in the universal heaven a single angel that was created such at first, nor a single devil in all hell that had been created an angel of light, and was afterwards cast out of heaven; but that all both in heaven and in hell are of the human race; in heaven such as had lived in the world in heavenly love and faith, and in hell such as had lived altogether according to the principles of self-love and the love of the world. 12. That true conjugal love, which can only exist between one husband and one wife, is a primary characteristic of the new church, being grounded in the marriage or conjunction of good and truth, and corresponding with the marriage of the Lord and his church; and therefore it is more celestial, spiritual, holy, and pure, than any other love in angels or men. 13. That baptism and the holy supper are sacraments of divine institution, and are to be permanently observed; baptism being an external medium of introdution into the church, and a sign representative of man's purification

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and regeneration; and the holy supper being an external medium, to those who receive it worthily, of introduction, as to spirit, into heaven, and of conjunction with the Lord, of which it is also a sign and seal. 14. That the last judgment, so frequently spoken of in the Gospels, and in the Apocalypse, being a separation of the evil from the good in the spiritual world, where heretofore they had been collected and mixed in society together, from the time of the Lord's first advent into the world till the time of his second advent, was actually accomplished in the year 1757; when the former heaven and the former earth, or the old church, passed away according to the Scriptures, and the foundation of a new church was laid, wherein all things are become new. 15. That therefore, as an act of mercy towards the human race, which would otherwise have perished in eternal death, the second advent of the Lord has already taken place and still continues in the present day; being a coming not in person, but in the power and glory of the spiritual sense of his Holy Word, as demonstrated in the Theological writings of his servant Emanuel Swedenborg; and thus that the holy city, New Jerusalem, is now descending from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

We will not stop here to comment on these articles in whole or in part, because this is not the place, and because also we are determined, as before observed, to act the part of a faithful and an impartial historian. We have endeavored to adduce nothing, and shall continue to do so, that is not perfectly authentic, and which may not at once be recognised and acknowledged by every believer in the writings of Swedenborg, as a fair and candid exhibition of his doctrines.

In addition to these articles of doctrine, there are many other subjects contained in the writings of Swedenborg, which are peculiar to himself, and which well illustrate the metaphysical nature of his theology. To a few of these points we will now advert.

The Swedish Theologian does not appear to be a believer in the *eternity of matter*, or in the *creative energies of matter*, or in *a power of thought communicable to matter separate from spirit*. After speaking of the three different opinions or hypotheses, which have been advanced to account for the communication between the soul and the body, and for the operations of the one on and jointly with the other, he shows that

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the first hypothesis attempts to solve the matter from physical or natural influx, that is, from body acting on spirit; the second from a contrary influx, or from spirit acting on body; and the third from a settled law of sympathy or harmony between both, established at creation.

The first of these, viz. physical influx, he shows, *takes its rise from the fallacy of sensible appearances;* thus the objects of vision, by striking the eye, seem to produce the sensation of sight in the soul; speech, to excite that of hearing, through the impressions made on the ear by the motion of the air; and so in like manner as relates to the other senses. Now as the organs of sense are in contact with the material world, and as the faculties of the mind seem to be affected according to the impressions made by matter on those organs, therefore the old philosophers and schoolmen adopted this hypothesis of physical or natural influx.

The second hypothesis, called *spiritual influx*, and by some *occasional influx*, is shown by Swedenborg to be founded on the true order and nature of things, for the soul *being a spiritual substance*, and consequently of greater purity than the body, as also of a higher and interior nature, it follows that it must have the preëminence and influence over that which is more gross, and also inferior and exterior to it; or, that the principal, which is spiritual, should exercise agency and rule over that which is material, and not *vice versa*, consequently that it is the soul which sees and hears through the rightly disposed organs, and not the latter that convey sight and hearing to the soul.

The third hypothesis, called that of harmony, or consent established by the law of creation, he shows to be founded on a false conclusion, that the soul acts jointly and at the same instant with the body; for all operation is first successive, and then conjunctive, or simultaneous with the thing acted upon; successive operation he calls influx, and simultaneous operation he calls harmony; as when the mind first thinks and then speaks, or first wills to do a thing and afterwards acts; therefore he maintains that it is nothing less than a deception from false reasoning, to attempt to establish simultaneous operation, without first allowing that which is successive. The soul then either must act upon the body, or the body upon the soul, or both in conjunction by consent. On one of these three opinions or hypotheses must the communication between the soul and body be explained.

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"Forasmuch," says Swedenborg, "as the doctrine of spiritual influx, or the operation of spirit upon matter and not *vice versa, is founded upon the order and laws of the Creator*, therefore *it is received by the wiser part of the learned world in preference to the other two opinions;* for everything that is according to true order is truth; now truth by a native kind of evidence carries with it a degree of clearness even in hypothetic matters, though these be but as the twilight of reason. The obscurity, in which the subject before us is involved, may be accounted for from human ignorance concerning the three following particulars: 1. As to the nature of the soul; 2. As to what we are to understand by the word spiritual; and 3. What by influx; wherefore these three things are to be explained in order to a rational comprehension of it; for what is merely hypothetical is not truth itself, but only conjecture concerning it, and may be compared to a picture on a wall seen confusedly by star-light, which the mind figures to itself according to the representation which fancy gives it; but when the sun is risen, and we behold it in clear day-light, the whole appears distinct in every part according to its true delineation; in like manner the truth here investigated arises out of the obscurity of an hypothesis into the light of evidence, when it is once clearly known, — 1. *What is the difference betwixt things spiritual and things natural;* 2. *What is the true nature of the human soul; and* 3, *How this receives its influx from God, and transmits it through the perceptive faculties of the mind to the body.*"

The author thus distinguishes between spirit and matter, and in direct opposition to the creed of the materialist, ascribes all influence and operation to the former, regarding the latter as a mere dead thing, which has no life, sensation, or activity in it, except what it derives from its connexion with spirit; it is also manifest, that he considers the soul of man as a *spiritual substance*, not only of greater purity than the body, but also of a higher and interior nature, and consequently entitled to preëminence over that which is more gross and external; he also refers all life properly so called to the Deity, and of course ultimately attributes to him the all of the life and activity observable either in the human soul, or in its body, or in the outward material world of nature.

A clearer and more extended view of Swedenborg's opinion on this subject may be obtained by attending to the following propositions.

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1. "That the Lord from eternity, who is Jehovah, created the universe and all things in it from himself, and not from nothing. 2. That the visible things in the created universe testify, that Nature neither hath produced, nor does produce anything, but that the Divine hath produced and doth produce all things from himself. 3. That all things in the universe were created from the divine love and the divine wisdom of Jehovah God. 4. That all things in the created universe are recipients of the divine love and the divine wisdom of Jehovah God. 5. That the uses of all created things ascend by degrees from ultimates to man, and through man to God the Creator, from whom they proceed. 6. That the end of creation exists in its ultimates, which is, that all things may return to the Creator, and that there may be conjunction. 7. That in the substances and matters of which earths consist, there is nothing of the Divine in itself, but that still they are from the Divine in itself. 8. That from the Lord with man there are created and formed two receptacles and habitations for himself, which are called the will and the understanding; the will for his divine love, and the understanding for his divine wisdom. 9. That love and wisdom are emanations from God in one conjunctive influx into the soul of man, and through it into his mind, affections, and thoughts; and are from thence derived into his corporeal senses, speech, and actions. 10. That whatsoever proceeds from the material sun, considered in itself, must be void of life. 11. That the spiritual principle invests itself with material nature, as man invests himself with his garments. 12. That spirit, thus clothed with matter in man, renders him capable of being a rational and moral agent, and thus at once both spiritual and natural. 13. That the reception of this influx is according to the state of love and wisdom in man. 14. That the human understanding may, by due culture and improvement of the rational faculties, be elevated even to a degree of angelic wisdom; and that the human will, if the life be good, may be kindled into a flame of seraphic love; but then such an elevation of love can only take place where the will and practice are conformable to the dictates of wisdom in the understanding."

Are there persons who believe that matter, by certain combinations and modifications can become capable of thought, so as to reason and determine of itself, independently of any spiritual power or principle? Swedenborg disputes this doctrine, and attempts to show the absolute impossibility of matter possessing any such property, by proving that all thought proceeds from volition, and that both thought and volition are the dis-

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tinguishing characters and operations of spirit, and only annexed to matter, so far as this latter is in some sort of connection and communication with the former; for thus he again argues: —

"The truth of this proposition follows by necessary consequence from the foregoing; for as the soul continually receives an influx of life from God, so it transmits the same by influent communication through the perceptive mind to the body, giving to this last, through its close union therewith, the appearance of corporeal life; hence we know by experience, that spirit united to matter in man, *as a living power to a lifeless subject*, qualifies him for rational speech and moral agency. It seems indeed to outward appearance, as if the tongue and the lips spake, and the arms and hands acted by some power of life in themselves; whereas it is thought that speaks, and the will that acts (both spiritual in themselves) through their respective material organs formed from the outward natural world. That this is the case, will readily appear from considering, that upon the ceasing of thought, the tongue is immediately silent, and upon the will's refraining to exert its active power, the limbs are motionless in an instant. The union of spirit and matter, and the appearance of life in the latter arising from this union, may be illustrated from the comparison of a spunge replete with generous wine, from the rich juices in the grape or apple, and the aromatic virtue in cinnamon; for express now these juices, and extract the tincture from their containing vessels and integuments, and what remains but insipid dry husks and filaments? The case is just the same with the corporeal organs, when separated from their vital principle. That from this union of what is spiritual with what is natural in the human constitution, man has his denomination of a rational creature in this lower world, appears from the power of arranging and analyzing his thoughts, and the various exercises of his understanding; as that of his being a moral agent does from the regulation of his actions and deportment by the rules of honesty and decorum, which high privileges he is endued with from the power given to him to receive influx from the Lord through the Heavens."

There is another doctrine intimately connected with this, and which forms so peculiar a feature of Swedenborg's writings, that it may be interesting and acceptable to the reader to see unfolded. It may with propriety be called the doctrine of *Spiritual Association*. There is no doctrine more universally or more strongly insisted upon in the writings of Swedenborg than

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this, that man is governed and guided at all times by associate spirits from the spiritual world, who are in the closest communication and connection with him in affection and thought, insomuch that without such communication and connection he would be utterly incapable of being affected or of thinking at all. These associate spirits, it is insisted, differ in quality, according to the quality, that is to say, the ruling disposition of the person with whom they are associated, being angelic and heavenly where the ruling disposition of the man is such, but on the contrary, diabolical and infernal, where the mind of the human subject is degraded and deformed by diabolical and infernal principles.

"The case in general, (says he), with influx out of the spiritual world into man is this, that man cannot think anything, or will anything, from himself, but that everything flows in, good and truth from the Lord through Heaven, thus through the Angels who are attendant on man; and what is evil and false from Hell, thus through the evil spirits that are attendant on man; and this into man's thought and will. . . . . To the intent that the Lord's life may flow in, and be received according to every law appertaining to man, there are continually attendant on man angels and spirits, angels from heaven, and spirits from hell. The reason why there are attendant spirits from hell is, because man from himself is continually in evil, for he is in the delight of self-love and the love of the world, and so far as man is in evil, or in that delight, so far the angels from heaven cannot be present. The spirits who are adjoined to man cause him to have communication with hell, and the angels cause him to have communication with heaven; man without communication with heaven and hell would not be able to live even a moment; if these communications were removed, he would fall down dead as a stock, for in such case would be taken away his connection with the first Esse, that is, with the Lord. But I am aware that few believe that any spirit is attendant upon them, yea that there are any spirits; and the principal cause of this unbelief is, because at this day there is no faith by reason that there is no charity; hence neither is it believed that there is a hell, nor that there is a heaven, consequently no life after death; another cause of this unbelief is, because with their eyes men do not see spirits, for they say, if I saw I would believe; what I see I know to be, but what I do not see, I know not whether it be or not; when yet they know, or may know, that the eye of man is so dim and gross, that it doth not even see things which are in ultimate nature, as is evident from artificial glasses, by which such things become visible; how then should it be able to see the things which are

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within Nature, even purer than Nature, where are spirits and angels? From these considerations it may be manifest, how much modern faith differs from ancient faith; for it was a tenet of ancient faith, that every man had his attendant angel.

"The spirits, which have intercourse with man, enter into all his memory, and into all the science of memory which man possesses; thus they put on all things that are man's, insomuch that they know no other than that these things are theirs; hence it is that all things which a man thinks, they think, and that all things which man wills, they will, and *vice versâ*. From these considerations it is evident that man, during his life in the world, as to his interiors, thus as to his spirit, is in consort with other spirits, and so adjoined to them, that he cannot think or will anything unless together with them, and that thus there is a communication of his interiors with the spiritual world; and that thus and no otherwise he can be led of the Lord.

"In regard to the origin of the influx of evil from hell, the case is this; when a man, first from consent, next from purpose, lastly from delight of affection, casteth himself into evil, instantly a hell is opened which is in such evil, (for according to evils and all their varieties, the hells are distinct one from another,) and presently there is from that hell also an influx; when a man thus comes into evil, it inheres, for the hell, in the sphere of which he then is, is in its very delight, when in its evil. It is further to be noted, that the reason why evil is appropriated to man is, because he believes and persuades himself, that he thinketh and doeth it from himself, thus he makes it his own; whereas if he believed as the case really is, evil would not then be appropriated to him, but good from the Lord would be appropriated, for in this case, when evil flowed in, he would instantly think that it was from the evil spirits attendant upon him, and when he thought this, the angels would revert and reject it, for the influx of the angels is into what a man knows and believes, but not into what he doth not know and believe.

"It is the office of the angels to inspire charity and faith, and to observe the man's delights, in what direction they turn themselves, and to moderate and bend them to good, so far as the man's free-will enables him to do so; it is forbidden them to act violently, and thereby to break man's lusts and principles, but the injunction is to act with gentleness; their office also is to rule the evil spirits who are from hell, which is effected by methods innumerable, of which it is allowed to mention only the following: when the evil spirits infuse evils and falses, the angels insinuate truths and goods, which, if they are not received, are yet the means of temperament; the infernal spirits are continually making assault, and the angels affording protection; such is the

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order. The angels principally moderate the affections, for these constitute the life of man, and also his freedom. By such offices the angels from the Lord lead and protect man; and this every moment, and every moment of a moment; for if the angels should only intermit their offices a single instant, man would be plunged into evil, from which afterwards it would be impossible he should be extricated. These offices the angels perform from the love which they derive from the Lord, for they perceive nothing more delightful and more happy, than to remove evils from man, and to lead him to heaven; that they have joy herein, may be seen, Luke xv. 7, 10. That the Lord hath such care for man, and this continually, from the first stamen of life to the last, and afterwards to eternity, scarce any man believes."

There is another doctrine pervading every portion of the theological writings of Swedenborg, and which we have seen also developed in his philosophical writings, which may be briefly elucidated; we refer to the *Doctrine of Degrees.* It is maintained by those who receive the writings of Swedenborg that he is the only writer in the world, who ever ascertained the precise boundary or limit between what is spiritual and what is natural, and thus taught his readers to distinguish most minutely between the two principles, thereby enabling them at all times to detect and repel the fallacious reasonings of the naturalist and materialist. This precise boundary or limit is pointed at in his doctrine of degrees above spoken of, a doctrine which his admirers consider of the highest importance. From this doctrine it is made to appear, so far as we can understand it, that spirit and matter are not distinguished, according to the favorite idea of our modern naturalists and materialists, by any degrees of rarity or density, as if spirit was matter in a more refined state, or matter spirit in a more gross and compacted state, for such a distinction, if we rightly understand the author, does not apply at all to the two principles, inasmuch as matter, it is shown, can never by any sublimation, or subtilization be converted into spirit, neither can spirit, by any contraction or degradation be converted into matter. He informs us that there are three degrees of two kinds, viz. three degrees of love and three degrees of wisdom, which flowing from their Divine Author, are distinctly one; that although unconvertible into each other, and therefore eternally distinct, yet, in their source, they are inseparable. He distinguishes degrees into two kinds, degrees of *altitude* and degrees of *latitude.*

He represents the knowledge of degrees as a "key to open

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the causes of things, and enter into them; since without this knowledge scarcely any thing of cause can be known; for the objects and subjects of both worlds without this knowledge appear so univocal, as if there was nothing in them except of a nature similar to what is seen with the eye, when, nevertheless, this respectively to the things which lie interiorly concealed, is as one to thousands, yea, to myriads. The interior things which lie hid, can by no means be discovered, unless degrees be understood; for exterior things proceed to things interior, and those to the things which are inmost, by degrees; not by *continuous* degrees, but by *discrete* degrees. The term continuous degrees is applied to denote decrements or decreasings from more crass to more subtle, or from denser to rarer; or rather to denote as it were, the increments or increasings from more subtle to more crass, or from rarer to denser, like that of light proceeding to shade, or of heat to cold. But discrete degrees are entirely different, they are as things prior, posterior, postreme, or as end, cause, and effect; these are called discrete degrees, because the prior is by itself, the posterior by itself, and the postreme by itself; but still, when taken together, they make one. The atmospheres from highest to lowest, or from the sun to the earth, which are ether and air, are discrete into such degrees; and there are substances, seemingly simple, the congregate of these atmospheres, and again the congregate of these congregates, which, when taken together, are called composite. These last degrees are called discrete, because they exist distinctly, and are understood by degrees of altitude; but the former degrees are continuous, because they continually increase, and are understood by degrees of latitude."

Swedenborg maintains that in everything, both in the spiritual and natural worlds, there are three degrees of both these kinds. He adduces many illustrations, which he regards as so many proofs of the reality of this principle of degrees. As already intimated, *discrete* degrees, or degrees of altitude, are derived one from another, in a series like end, cause, and effect. Let us endeavor to "illustrate this by example. It is known, by ocular experience, that each muscle in the human body consists of very small fibres, and that these being disposed in fascicles, constitute the larger fibres, which are called moving fibres, and that from collections of the latter, exists that compound which is called a muscle. It is the same with nerves; in them from very small fibres are composed larger fibres, which appear as filaments, and from a collection of these is a nerve compounded. The case is the same in other compaginations, confaciations, and collections of which the organs and viscera con-

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sist; for these are compositions from fibres and vessels variously formed by similar degrees. The case is the same also, with all and everything of the vegetable kingdom, and all and everything of the mineral kingdom; in the different kinds of wood there are compaginations of filaments in a threefold order; in metals and stones there are conglobations of parts also, in a threefold order. From these considerations it appears what discrete degrees are, viz. that one is formed from another, and by means of the other a third, which is called composite; and that each degree is discrete from another. Hence conclusions may be formed respecting those things which do not appear before our eyes, because the case is the same with them as with the organic substances, which are the receptacles and habitations of the thoughts and affections in the brain; with the atmospheres; with heat and light, and with love and wisdom; for the atmospheres are the receptacles of heat and light, as heat and light are receptacles of love and wisdom; of consequence, since there are degrees of atmospheres, there are also similar degrees of heat and light, and similar of love and wisdom; for the ratio (particular constitution and relation) of the latter is not different from that of the former."

According to Swedenborg, matter is the continent and basis of spirit. "That the *ultimate* degree is the complex, continent, and basis of the prior degrees, appears manifestly from the *progression* of ends and causes to effects; that the *effect* is the complex, continent, and basis of the causes and ends, may be comprehended by enlightened reason; but not so clearly that the end, with everything belonging to it, and the cause with everything belonging to it, *actually exist in the effect*, and that effect is the *full complex* of them. That the case is so, may appear from what has been premised in that part, particularly from the following considerations, that one is from the other in a triplicate series; and that the *effect* is nothing else but the *cause* in *its* ultimate; and forasmuch as the ultimate is the complex, it follows that the *ultimate* is the continent and basis." It is reasoning of this kind on which is founded an idea, often expressed by Swedenborg, that *spiritual existences* cannot operate in *external act*, until they have been *identified* and *fixed*, by an ultimate existence on some *natural earth*, that, of course, all "angels and devils" were once *natural* beings like ourselves. "As to what relates to love and wisdom, *love* is the *end*, *wisdom* the instrumental *cause*, and *use* is the *effect;* and *use* is

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the complex, continent, and basis of wisdom and love; and *use* is such a complex and such a continent, that the whole of *love* and the whole of *wisdom* are actually in it, it being the *simultaneous* of them. But it is well to be observed, that all things of love and wisdom, which are homogeneous and concordant, *exist in use*, according to what has before been said and shown."

In the theology of Swedenborg, St. Paul's *three* Heavens are discovered to be three degrees of the spirit or emanating sphere of God, existing in various recipient forms, which thus receiving, transmit their reflected beams of intelligence, in ardent emotions of gratitude and love! The same spirit, descending in smaller degrees, forms the soul of man, and the external perfections of nature in her three kingdoms of animal, vegetable, and mineral; giving to each its peculiar degree of life, in proportion to their capacity of receiving that emanating spirit of the Great Author of all things.

Let us now turn our attention to another distinguishing doctrine of the Swedish theologian, which it may be interesting to the philosophical inquirer here to develop; we mean the doctrine of a *Spiritual Sun*. Swedenborg maintains that the heat and light of the sun of our system solely derive their nature, their specific power and efficacy, from spiritual heat and light, which are essential love and wisdom, flowing continually from the Supreme Being. In other words, that from the Supreme Being constantly flows, or emanates, a glorious sphere of light and heat, which, in their essence, are divine love and wisdom, whence originate the power and efficacy of the light and heat of the natural or material sun, thus created a type, an imitator, as it were, of its glorious author, and like the hand of a dial, constantly guided by, and pointing out his movements, and reflecting back, by perfect correspondence, the image of its great original. It is the nature of spirit, he maintains, to diffuse itself. This diffusion causes a sphere of glory around the Supreme Being. The emanating sphere of this glorious spirit, according to his theory, forming and operating in and through the material suns of the various natural systems, produces, and constantly supports in existence, the whole creation of God: thus descending, by degrees, from the Great First Cause, to the lowest extreme of external nature. In this descent, various degrees of spirit find their abode in various forms of matter. Swedenborg, however, repudiates the idea, that because the

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material sun is a globular body, and, at the same time, a type of the spiritual sun, therefore that glorious luminary, which is asserted to be the fountain of life, is also a globular body of spiritual fire. He asserts on the contrary, that the spiritual sun is not the Supreme Being Himself, but only that emanating sphere of His divine and essential constituents, love and wisdom; as the material sun's light and heat are not the real body, but only an emanation of it. He further maintains that a man cannot, in the inmost thought of his soul, conceive of a God without a form; that he cannot even fix his thought on any possible thing, without its immediately presenting itself to his intellectual vision, in a form; that no essence can exist without a form, and that it is almost like profanity, to imagine the Deity in a globular or any other form than the most perfect human form.

Following a well known and established law in natural philosophy, that there is constantly emitted by the benign influence of the sun's light and heat, from every created body a "somewhat of itself," which finds a recipient in the atmosphere that encompasses the earth, and there produces its degree of use, he shows that the spiritual sun is ever diffusing its glorious rays, and by its vivifying influence of love and wisdom, or spiritual light and heat, gives life and activity, with the consequent power of exertion, to every created being. But he makes between the two luminaries this all-important distinction, that the spiritual sun is replete with perfect life, because God dwells in its centre; while the natural sun, having only the appearance of life, is in itself mere matter, or perfect death. In all things which are proximately brought into life, and supported in existence by the natural sun, there is only apparent life, but real death; but in all things which are created and upheld by the immediate influence of the spiritual sun, there is a principle of eternal life. The very atmosphere of the spiritual world, flowing from the fountain of life, and being consequently spiritual, is the means of supporting spiritual life in its recipients; as the atmosphere of the natural world is a means of the existence and subsistence of its natural inhabitants. In man, while existing on the natural earths, are united the opposite principles of the two suns, which are life and death, spirit and matter, soul and body. As the original constituent principles of spiritual life are love and wisdom, so the absence of these is spiritual death. As the pervading influence of the

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natural sun's light and heat extends even to the centre of the various earths over which he reigns, drawing from every varied body its responsive effort toward the general good; so does the sphere of the spiritual sun diffuse its benign fervors and cheering light, through infinitude, everywhere pouring its glories into the willing recipient, and exciting in, or calling forth from that recipient, a correspondent emission of its own degree of received life. Whence issues from every intelligent being, as well as from every natural body, a sphere or emanation of its particular principles or degree of life, which is its measure of united goodness and truth, derived from its original and glorious fountain of divine love and wisdom; or the same celestial principles reduced and perverted, till at length converted to their opposites. Such is a brief development of the doctrine of a spiritual sun and a sphere emanating therefrom. How much truth or philosophy there is in it is left to the judgment of the enlightened reader to determine; at all events, it can do no harm to investigate it. *If* there be any truth in the pretended science of Animal Magnetism, perhaps we may here discover a principle by which its phenomena may be explained!

There is one more distinguishing principle in Swedenborg's theology, which is so linked, or interwoven with the two last mentioned, that we find ourselves under the necessity of touching on that also, in order to do justice, before we close this paper. This is the doctrine of *Correspondence.* It is an extensive subject, pervades the entire writings of Swedenborg, and may be considered, indeed, the foundation principle of his whole theological system. We can do but little more than to take a rapid survey of its outlines. "The doctrine of correspondences is one, according to which," says our author, "the whole of the Sacred Scripture is written, and without a knowledge of which its true and genuine sense cannot possibly be understood." This doctrine he represents as having been "hidden now for some thousands of years, viz., ever since the time of Job; at which time, and in the ages before it, the science of correspondences was esteemed the chief of all sciences, being the fountain of wisdom to man, because it was the fountain of knowledge concerning spiritual things relating to heaven and the church; but by reason of its being perverted to idolatrous purposes, it was so obliterated and destroyed by the divine providence of the Lord, that no traces of it were left remaining."

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The doctrine, as we understand it, is, that the natural world corresponds with the spiritual world, and that all things of the mind correspond with all things of the body. An illustration or two may suffice. He says: —

"There is a correspondence of the will and understanding with the heart and lungs, and thence a correspondence of all things of the mind with all things of the body. This is new, and hitherto unknown, because it has not been known what spiritual is, and what is its difference from natural, and therefore what correspondence is; there being a correspondence of spiritual with natural things, and thereby conjunction of them. It is said, that it has been hitherto unknown what spiritual is, and what is its correspondence with natural, and consequently what correspondence is; but still both might have been known. Who does not know that affection and thought are spiritual, and hence that all things of affection and thought are spiritual? Who does not know that action and speech are natural, and hence all things of action and speech natural? Who does not know that affection and thought, which are spiritual, cause a man to act and speak? Who may not hence know what the correspondence is of spiritual with natural things? Does not thought cause the tongue to speak, and affection with thought cause the body to act? They are two distinct things. I can think and not speak, and will and not act; and it is known that the body does not think and will, but that thought falls into speech, and will into action. Does not affection shine forth in the face, and present therein a type of itself? This every one knows. Is not affection, considered in itself, spiritual, and the changes of face, or the looks, natural? Who might not hence have concluded that there is a correspondence, and hence that there is a correspondence of all things of the mind with all things of the body? And as all things of the mind relate to affection and thought, or, what is the same, to the will and understanding, and all things of the body to the heart and lungs, who might not hence have concluded that there is a correspondence of the will with the heart, and of the understanding with the lungs? Such things have not been known, although they might have been known, because man has become so external, that he is unwilling to acknowledge anything but what is natural. This is the delight of his love, and hence of his understanding; wherefore to elevate his thought above the natural to anything spiritual separate from the natural, is unpleasant to him; therefore he cannot think otherwise from his natural love and its delight, than that spiritual is more purely natural, and that corre-

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spondence is something influent by continuity; yea, the merely natural man cannot think of anything separate from natural, this to him being nothing.

"The correspondence of the will and understanding with the heart and lungs cannot be proved abstractedly, or by rational things alone, but it may by effects; the case is the same as with the causes of things, which indeed may be seen rationally, but not clearly, except by effects, for the causes are in the effects, and are visible through them; nor is the mind before convinced concerning causes; the effects of this correspondence shall be shown in what follows."

To accompany Swedenborg through the various effects, by which he attempts to prove and enforce his doctrine, however interesting it might be to the reader, would require more room than can be reasonably appropriated to this paper. But as some few striking illustrations of the operations of the principle in general may be selected, we will endeavor to perform this service. The origin of all correspondence, he maintains, is in the Supreme Being, thence it descends and forms the conjunctive power, through the various degrees of altitude, from the Divine Head, to the feet or extreme of creation, the natural earth, said in Scripture, to be "God's footstool," which extreme is forever protracting, that is, beings in the natural world are forever increasing in number, in correspondence with the eternal emanation of divine life, from its inexhaustible fountain. Swedenborg himself has somewhere an observation to this effect, that particulars are so numerous and so various, as sometimes to confuse the mind; and that it is therefore occasionally better to explain a subject by universals only; leaving the particulars of these universals to those who desire to prosecute their inquiries still farther. We will therefore select for our illustration the correspondence, which Swedenborg affirms to subsist between the Omnipotent Creator and the human being. And to prove that this correspondence subsists, he endeavors to demonstrate *that God is in form a man.*

"Of how great importance," says he, "it is to have a just idea of God, may appear from this consideration, that the idea of God constitutes the inmost thought of all those who have any religion, for all things of religion and divine worship have respect unto God; and inasmuch as God is universally and particularly in all things of religion and worship, therefore unless it be a just idea of God, no communication can be given with

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the Heavens: hence it is, that in the spiritual world every nation hath its place according to its idea of God as a man, for in this, and in no other is the idea of the Lord. That the state of every man's life after death is according to the idea of God which he hath confirmed in himself, appears manifestly from the reverse of the proposition, viz. that the negation of God constitutes hell. To be, and to exist, (*esse et existere*) in God-man are distinctly one. Where there is an esse, there is also an existence, one is not possible without the other; for essence is, by (or in) existence, and not without it. This the rational (part or principle) comprehends when it thinks whether there can be any essence which doth not exist, and whether there can be any existence, but from an essence; and inasmuch as one exists with and not without the other, it follows that they are one, but distinctly one. They are distinctly one as is the case with love and wisdom; for love is essence, and wisdom existence, inasmuch as love doth not exist but in wisdom, nor wisdom but from love; wherefore when love is in wisdom, then it existeth. These two are such an one, that they may be distinguished, indeed, in thought, but not in act; and inasmuch as they may be distinguished in thought but not in act, therefore it is said they are distinctly one. Essence and existence in God-man are also distinctly one as soul and body, soul doth not exist without its body, nor body without its soul. It is the divine soul of God-man, which is understood by the divine essence, and the divine body which is understood by the divine existence. That a soul can exist without a body, and exercise thought and wisdom, is an error proceeding from fallacies; for every soul of man is in a spiritual body (which fully appears) after it has put off its material covering, which it carried about with it in the world. The reason why an essence is not an essence unless it exists, is, because it is not before in a form, and that which is not in a form hath not a quality, and that which hath not a quality, is not anything. That which exists from an essence, maketh one with the essence, by reason that it is from the essence; hence there is an uniting into one, and hence it is that one is the others mutually and reciprocally, also that one is all in all, in the other, as in itself. Hence it may appear, that God is (necessarily in a form and consequently) a man, and thereby He is a God existing, not existing from Himself, but in Himself. He who existeth in Himself is God, from whom all things are."

The reason given by Swedenborg, why God exists in the human form, in preference to every other, is, that the human is, in truth, the most perfect of all forms, uniting in itself the highest possible perfections of all possible forms. Such is the al-

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leged correspondence of man with his Maker, who was created in "the image and likeness" of God, in whom we "live, move, and have our being," and "from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift." How well it is sustained the reader can judge.

Our last illustration of the principle of correspondence is drawn, according to Swedenborg, from its existence and operation in the Word of God, or Holy Scriptures. He lays down in his writings what he asserts to be the *rule or law of language*, according to which the Scriptures are written. This rule or law of language he terms the correspondence existing between things spiritual and things natural, by virtue of which things natural, as being the types and images of things spiritual, are used to express them. Thus he asserts that when Jesus Christ called himself a door, a vine, a shepherd, a way, a light, &c., the Divine Speaker employed natural objects to express spiritual and divine things relating to himself, which could never have been the case, unless some eternal agreement or correspondence had subsisted between them. Again, when the same Divine Person employs the natural figures of seed, of wheat, of tares, of leaven, of treasure hid in a field, of a merchant-man, of a feast, of pearls, of a husband-man, of a marriage, of a lost sheep, of a lost piece of silver, of a vineyard, &c., (see the parables throughout,) Swedenborg maintains that He is endeavoring to call the attention of His hearers to those eternal, spiritual, and grand realities of Himself and of His kingdom, from which all natural things derive their existence, and which consequently they are fitted to express. This rule or law of language, he says, applies to all the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testaments. He asserts that in the Sacred Scriptures there are contained three degrees of divine truth, the celestial, the spiritual, and the natural; that the spiritual is within, and entirely distinct from the natural, as the soul is within, and entirely distinct from the body of man; and within the spiritual is the celestial degree, which is still more perfect, treating entirely of the descent of God into ultimate nature, and His ascent thence to His original glory, corresponding with the three degrees of altitude in creation. Lest, however, the reader should confound this language of correspondence with the language of mere *figure* or *metaphor*, it is observed, "that a mere figure or metaphor is the resemblance which one *natural* object or circumstance is supposed to bear to another *natu-*

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ral object or circumstance; whereas a correspondence is the actual relation subsisting between a *natural* object and a *spiritual* subject, or a *natural* form and a *spiritual* essence: that is, between *outer* and *inner*, *lower* and *higher*, *nature* and *spirit*; and not between *nature* and *nature*, or *spirit* and *spirit*." The internal or true spiritual sense, then, according to Swedenborg, is most fixed and determinate; as *uncreatable* by man's volition, as the objects of nature themselves. Its foundation is the *mutual relation* that exists between things *natural* and things *spiritual*; between that which is *external*, and that which is *internal*; between the world of *sense*, and the world of *mind*; between the world of *nature*, and the world of *spirit*. This relation, or *correspondence*, is the origin of all signs; of all types; of the possibility of one mind conveying its volition to another mind; in a word, of all communication between God and his creatures, and of his creatures with each other.

The ground of this correspondence, or analogy, is the great truth, that the visible or natural world derives its being from an invisible or spiritual world; and both from the Divine Being, or GREAT FIRST CAUSE. Every object in nature is, consequently, from a Divine origin; and consists of an *internal*, or essence, invested with an *external* composed of natural elements; by means of which it assumes a form, structure, or organism, capable of exhibiting the energy and quality of the internal. Thus giving birth to the several properties, effects, and acts, which are called *uses* and *benefits*, when they are rightly directed; and *abuses* and *injuries*, when the activity is inordinate or excessive. The reciprocal relation that outward or natural things bear to internal or spiritual things, is their *correspondence*. For as the first contribute, when fitly applied, to the welfare, and when wrongly applied, to the injury of the *natural man*, or earthly nature; so do the second, to the *spiritual man*, or heavenly nature. To say, therefore, that the natural world, with its objects, senses, and actions, CORRESPONDS to the spiritual world, with its will, understanding, and thought, is to affirm that the former is connected with, and represents the latter; and also that such relationship and representation is not contingent, or merely figurative and emblematical; but that the connection is as necessary, and inherent, as that of effect to its cause; form to its essence; or body to its soul.

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The language of *correspondence* is thus, our Author maintains, none other *than the language of God himself;* and by it he always speaks both in his WORD and in his WORKS; that it is, in truth, a DIVINE SCIENCE, with permanent symbols, and of universal application; and which with holy reverence, looking "through nature up to nature's God," binds in chains of love and light nature with spirit, earth with heaven, man with the Supreme.

"The books of the word," says Swedenborg, "are all those which have the *internal sense;* but those books which have not the internal sense, are not the word. The books of the word, in the Old Testament are, the five BOOKS of MOSES, the BOOK of JOSHUA, the BOOK of JUDGES, the two BOOKS of SAMUEL, the two BOOKS of KINGS, the PSALMS of DAVID, the PROPHETS ISAIAH, JEREMIAH, the LAMENTATIONS, EZEKIEL, DANIEL, HOSEA, JOEL, AMOS, OBADIAH, JONAH, MICAH, NAHUM, HABAKKUK, ZEPHANIAH, HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH, MALACHI; and in the New Testament, the four Evangelists, MATTHEW, MARK, LUKE, JOHN; and the APOCALYPSE. The rest have not the internal sense."

Such are a few of the peculiar fundamental principles developed in the theological writings of this most remarkable man. We have aimed to be impartial, and have given the doctrines to the best of our understanding of them. There are others equally peculiar and distinguishing, to only one of which we will very briefly allude. He affirms that,

"The planets in our solar system are inhabited by human beings; nay, that millions of planetary bodies, revolving about other suns in the starry heavens, are in like manner the abodes of men, and that he himself has actually been permitted to visit many of them, not in body, but in spirit."

The manner in which he explains this subject is really curious, and well worthy of notice. He states that,

"In consequence of his intercourse with angels and spirits, for many successive years of his life, he discovered that distances in the spiritual world are not like distances here on earth, but are altogether according to the several states of the interiors of the inhabitants. They who are in a similar state are together in one society, and in one place; for all presence is caused by similitude of state, and all distance by dissimilitude of state. Hence to be present with any spirit or angel, whether

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he be from this earth, or from any other earth in the universe, it is only requisite to be in a similar state with such spirit or angel as to the interiors of the mind, that is, as to the interior affections and thoughts. And in this way, he says, it is as possible for the spirit of a man still living in the body, whose interiors are open to heaven, to be led by the Lord into a similitude of state, with the spirits and angels from other earths or planets, and even with the inhabitants themselves, as with the spirits, angels, and distant inhabitants of this earth. Now when the interior faculties of a man are so far opened, as to enable him to see and converse with spirits and angels, (which, however, is a rare case in the present day, owing to causes which need not be here stated), then such spirits and angels as are present with him (and every man is surrounded with beings of this description) can see through his eyes the natural objects of this world, and hear through his ears the conversation that passes among men; which they cannot otherwise do. So, again, the man whose interiors are open may, by being brought into a similar state with an inhabitant of some distant earth, in like manner see through the eyes of such inhabitant, if his interiors are open, the natural objects of his world, and hear through his ears the natural sounds there produced."

This doctrine of the possibility of man's seeing and conversing with spirits and angels, Swedenborg confirms by a variety of testimony from the sacred Scriptures, particularly by the cases of Abraham and Sarah, Lot, the inhabitants of Sodom, Joshua, Gideon, Manoah and his wife, Zacharias, Mary, John, and many others, who all saw and conversed with angels as with men. He adds also his own experience, saying,

"Inasmuch as it has been permitted me by the Lord, to be at the same time in the spiritual world and in the natural world, and thence to speak with angels as with men, and thereby to know the states of those, who after death flow into that hitherto unknown world; for I have spoken with all my relations and friends, and likewise with kings and generals, as also with the learned, who have deceased, and this now continually for twenty-seven years; therefore I am able to describe, from lively experience, the states of men after death, both of those who have lived well, and of those who have lived ill."

We will select another passage from his writings, for the information of the reader, which, with the other peculiarities taught by Swedenborg will furnish a just view of the nature of his publications, and the extraordinary character of the writer.

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"With respect to the state and nature of a future life, who does not know, or may not know, that man lives after death; both because he is born a man, created an image of God, and because the Lord teaches it in his word? But what life he is to live, has been hitherto unknown. It has been believed, that then he would be a soul, of which they entertained no other idea than as of ether or air, thus that it is breath or spirit, such as man breathes out of his mouth, when he dies, in which, nevertheless, his vitality resides; but that it is without sight such as is of the eye, without hearing such as is of the ear, and without speech such as is of the mouth; when yet man after death is equally a man, and such a man, that he does not know but that he is still in the former world. He walks, runs, and sits, as in the former world; he lies down, sleeps, and wakes up, as in the former world; he eats and drinks, as in the former world; in a word, he is a man as to all and every particular. Whence it is manifest, that death is not an extinction, but a continuation of life, and that it is only a transition.

"That man is equally a man after death, although he does not then appear to the eyes of the material body, may be evident from the angels seen by Abraham, Hagar, Gideon, Daniel, and some of the prophets; from the angels seen in the Lord's sepulchre, and afterwards many times by John, concerning whom in the Revelation; and especially from the Lord himself, who showed that he was a man by the touch and by eating; and yet he became invisible to their eyes. Who can be so delirious as not to acknowledge, that, although he was invisible, He was still equally a man? The reason why they saw Him, was, because then the eyes of their spirit were opened; and when these are opened, the things which are in the spiritual world appear as clearly as those which are in the natural world. The difference between a man in the natural world and a man in the spiritual world is, that the latter is clothed with a substantial body, but the former with a material body, in which inwardly is his substantial body; and a substantial man sees a substantial man as clearly as a material man sees a material man; but a substantial man cannot see a material man, nor a material man a substantial man, on account of the difference between material and substantial, which is such as may be described, but not in a few words.

"From the things seen for so many years I can relate the following: That there are lands in the spiritual world as well as in the natural world, and that there are also plains and valleys, and mountains and hills, and likewise fountains and rivers; that there are paradises, gardens, groves, and woods;

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that there are cities, and in them palaces and houses; and also that there are writings and books; that there are employments and tradings; and that there are gold, silver, and precious stones, in a word, that there are all things whatsoever, that are in the natural world; but those in heaven are immensely more perfect. But the difference is, that all things, that are seen in the spiritual world, are created in a moment by the Lord, as houses, paradises, food, and other things; and that they are created for correspondence with the interiors of the angels and spirits, which are their affections and thoughts thence; but that all things that are seen in the natural world exist and grow from seed."

From the testimonies lying before us we learn that Swedenborg was deeply versed in every science; a first-rate mechanician and mathematician; one of the profoundest of physiologists; a great military engineer, conducting battles and sieges for Charles the Twelfth; a great astronomer; the ablest financier in the Royal Diet of Sweden; the first metallurgist of his time; and the writer of vast works, which, even at this day, are of sterling authority on mining and metals: that he was also a poet, and a master of ancient and modern languages; and a metaphysician, who had gone through all the long mazes of reflective philosophy. In short, that so far as the natural sciences go, it is much more difficult to say what he was *not* than what he *was*.

He was occupied fifty-five years in being and doing the things we have recorded in this paper. Having thus laid an immense basis for his mind, in nature, and a knowledge of the actual, and yet only a basis, he now, like a huge pyramid, rose into the ideal. The whole of his theological works, which have consigned him to a neglect which he appears to have anticipated, were now produced. The spiritual world was the *object*, as well as the subject of his thought; and this produced what may be called the realism of his psychology. Whether imagination and sentiment, properly so called, had any place in his mind; whether, instead of imagination, there was reason, producing itself in images; whether, instead of sentiment, there were affections forming themselves into reasons, it is not our province, as an impartial historian, to determine. But this we will venture to affirm, that no one can read his writings, and justly deny that there is everywhere conspicuous the greatest boldness and the greatest method in his thoughts,

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— one startling proposition developing itself after another, and each coming forth by the most fixed rules of ratiocination, with a superficial formality, and an internal freedom everywhere apparent.

Among the testimonies to which we have alluded, we find those of the most scientific men of the age, of prime ministers and counsellors of state, of kings and queens, of the most distinguished philosophers and poets, of the most esteemed divines, not of one country, but of several, all concurring to demonstrate that Swedenborg was a man of unblemished life, of exalted piety and virtue, of distinguished eminence as a philosopher, in nearly every department of science; honored by the kings under whom he lived, as one of the most useful members of the community, revered and loved by a numerous and most respectable circle of acquaintance in Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Holland, and England.

From this great body of testimonies it would afford us pleasure to give a specimen, did our limits permit. After what we have written, we leave the reader to the exercise of his own judgment, not doubting that he will give the evidences thus presented such an examination, as will enable him to determine correctly the degree of credibility attached to the life and writings of the Hon. Emanuel Swedenborg.

J. H. P.

Note. — In the above paper we have endeavored to give an outline of what we consider most essential in the life and writings of Baron Swedenborg, and to present some of the most distinguishing principles contained in his philosophical and theological works. In doing this we have made free use of what we found written on the subject, our object being not so much to write an original treatise, as to collect and combine what would be most important, in order to give the reader a clear and correct idea of the real nature and character of the author and his works. The writers, to whom we are particularly indebted, besides Swedenborg himself, are the authors of the following works: Clowes' Letters to a Member of Parliament; Barrett's Life of Swedenborg; Boston, N. J. Magazine; Hobart's Life of Swedenborg; London Intellectual Repository; London Penny Cyclopædia; Noble's Appeal; London Encyclopædia;

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Eulogy on Swedenborg; An Essay on the Philosophical Principles of the New Jerusalem, &c. The particular works of Swedenborg referred to are, The Arcana Cœlestia; Divine Love and Wisdom; Heaven and Hell, and True Christian Religion. Our limits have necessarily prevented our going very fully into any of the subjects introduced, and compelled us to omit many others equally novel and distinguishing. A general outline only has been attempted. We have carefully withheld the expression of our own opinion on the general credibility of Swedenborg, preferring to leave every reader to the exercise of his own understanding. The honest endeavor has been to be impartial and just. If, in any instance, we have failed to apprehend, or to state correctly any principle or doctrine, we assure the reader that it has been wholly involuntary, and not the result of prejudice or want of care. Our belief is, that the above exposition of principles and doctrines is in perfect harmony with the writings of Swedenborg.

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QUATRAINS

IN THE PERSIAN MANNER.

FROM THE GERMAN OF FRIEDRICH RÜCKERT.

O, BE in God's clear world no dark and troubled spright!
To Christ, thy master mild, do no such foul despite;
But show in look, word, mien, that thou belong'st to him,
Who says, "My yoke is easy, and my burthen light."

So long as life's hope-sparkle glows, 't is good;
When death delivers from life's woes, 't is good.
O praise the Lord, who makes all good and well!
Whether He life or death bestows, 't is good.

The stars above me mount the heavens with tranquil beam;
So round my couch, O Lord, may heavenly warders gleam!
And if my bolster be, like Jacob's, a hard stone,
Let Jacob's ladder too be lifted in my dream.

There came from heaven a flying turtle dove,
And brought a leaf of clover from above.
She dropp'd it, — and O happy they that find!
The triple flower is Faith and Hope and Love.

N. L. F.

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SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION. WITH THE SIXTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE BOARD.

It was only within seven years, that the enlightened State of Massachusetts established a board of men of the highest intelligence and benevolence, to superintend the means of educating the great mass of the children in the Commonwealth. Schools have been established from the first settlement of the country, but they were left to the fostering care of the people of each town and district. And except that the legislature ordered their existence under certain conditions, it seemed to take no farther interest in their welfare. But colleges and academies have been founded, endowed, and watched by the men in power. Trustees to govern, and committees to visit, and boards to examine these institutions, have ever been selected from those who best understood and cared most for their interests: and thus the best education was faithfully and generously provided for the very small minority of our sons. But common education for almost all our daughters, and the great majority of our sons, was supposed to be sufficiently cared for, when a definite number of families were ordered to maintain a school for a certain number of months.

The establishment of the Board of Education in 1837 was a movement of great hope, and noble purpose; and the results of their labors and of those of the Secretary have fulfilled the promise of the benevolent projectors. The law required, that the Secretary "shall, under the direction of the board, collect information of the actual condition and efficiency of the common schools and other means of popular education; and diffuse as widely as possible throughout every part of the Commonwealth information of the most approved and successful methods of arranging the studies and conducting the education of the young, to the end that all children in this Commonwealth, who depend upon common schools for instruction, may have the best education which those schools can be made to impart." The great burden of the labor fell therefore upon the Secretary. Happily for the schools and for the State, the Board elected Mr. Horace Mann to fill this office; and he has most faithfully and successfully devoted himself to this work until the present time.

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We have now before us their six annual reports, upon the state of education and the condition of our public schools, their progress and their wants, their strength and their weakness. These are devoted to all the topics, which belong to the prosperity of common schools; but in each, some one great and leading subject has been set forth more than others. We have not time and space, here and now, to give even an analysis of all of these, though we could do nothing more satisfactory to ourselves, or advantageous to our readers. We have a more limited, but not a lower purpose for the present occasion. Suffice it to say, in passing, that each one of these reports contains a dissertation upon some great subject connected with human improvement and happiness, which none can read without profit. Every parent, before he permits his children to fill their minds with the vile trash, that is ever ready to tempt them, should study Mr. Mann's most valuable observations, in his third report, upon reading, its objects, its advantages, its means of doing good, and its power of doing evil. We are happy to learn, that his suggestions respecting school libraries are so generally adopted and carried into practice.

Mr. Mann's fifth report was mainly devoted to the exhibition of the advantage of education to labor. He there shows from facts and by arguments, that even the lowest occupation, that, which seemingly requires no skill nor intelligence, but mere bone and muscle, is yet most successfully conducted by a well trained mind; and therefore the simplest day laborer, the hewer of wood and the drawer of water, is as certainly profited by education as the great contractor. The difference is only in degree, not in kind.

The advantages of education to happiness and to virtue, to social and domestic comfort, to public order and to private profit, are set forth, throughout these reports, with all the power and eloquence of the secretary. And here, we would urge upon every citizen of Massachusetts to read and reflect well upon all these matters: and we doubt not, that they will agree with Mr. Mann, that before capital or income, before banks, tariffs, or manufactures, our government and our people should look after and cherish our common schools, if they wish to secure honor and prosperity to the State, if they wish to gain wealth and happiness, political and social advantage for themselves and their children.

Our principal business, at the present time, is with the sixth

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and last report, which, like its predecessors, is full of interest and instruction; and those, who had formed high expectations from the former, will not be disappointed in this.

We have, within three hundred and three towns of the State, three thousand one hundred and ninety-eight schools, taught by two thousand and five hundred male and four thousand two hundred and eighty-two female teachers, at an annual cost of 556,426 dollars, for wages, board of instructors, and fuel. These schools were kept for an average term of seven months and eighteen days each, during the last year. One hundred and thirty-three thousand four hundred and forty-eight children attended upon them in the summer: and one hundred and fifty-nine thousand and fifty-six in the winter. These are the entire numbers, but the average attendance was about one fourth less. Yet we are glad to learn, that this irregularity is diminishing.

The subject of vacations is one of deep interest to those, who regard the health of our children and the prosperity of our schools. The brain, whether in the man or in the child, will not bear long and unremitted exertion, without injury. After a period of exertion it wearies and faints. If we then suspend our study, we recover our mental energy. If we persevere in our application, the mind falters, and the health of the whole body suffers. On the other hand, long inactivity of the brain diminishes its power of labor. It therefore,

"Becomes an important practical question, what is a suitable or desirable length for our schools? While it is obvious, that no one rule will answer for all places, it is equally plain, that the actual difference in the length of the schools is far greater than is theoretically desirable, and greater than can be justified by any differences in the circumstances of the people. Some schools are kept but four or five months in the year, including both the summer and winter terms, so that the long vacation almost obliterates the attainment of the short schools, and the commencement of each succeeding term finds the pupil but little advanced, except in age and stature, beyond the point he occupied at the commencement of the preceding."—p. 24.

We are "convinced, that, as a general fact, the vacations of our annual schools are too short." Some of these are kept from the beginning to the end of the year, without interruption, except now and then a single holiday, at thanksgiving, &c.

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The schools of Boston have only six and a half weeks vacation. Of these, two weeks occur in June, and three and a half in August, and from November till June, the boys and girls are doomed to six months unremitting mental toil, which no man, who has a proper regard to the preservation of his health, ever subjects himself to endure. The vacations in our colleges amount to about three months, and in our academies to two months in each year. These give no more relaxation than the brain requires for its soundness and its vigor; and if so much intermission of study be necessary for larger boys and adults, it is more necessary for children. Looking then for the greatest amount of aquisition in school and the preservation of the lives of our children, our annual schools should have at least eight weeks vacation, ten would be better, and no term of study should ever exceed ten or eleven weeks.

Our district schools suffer from the opposite error of too long interruption of study between summer and winter terms. In some, these vacations cover more than the entire spring and autumn. This evil is diminishing; for the average length of the schools, throughout the State, has increased three weeks, since 1837. We hope to see greater improvement in this respect. Every district should have a winter school of sixteen weeks, and a summer school of twenty-five weeks, with vacations of three weeks each in November, April, and August, and of two weeks in June. This arrangement would give as much schooling as we can hope to find in our districts. It would enable the oldest pupils to be in school as long as they can be spared from the business of home, and the smallest as long as the weather is comfortable for them, while those of intermediate age, who would attend both winter and summer, could be there as much as they ought to be confined to the school room. This would allow sufficient time to both teachers and pupils for recreation and exercise, without interrupting the education of those whose opportunity of study is limited to the cold season.

"The average compensation of teachers in this State has been rapidly rising, within the last five years: that of males has reached the sum of $ 33,80 per month, which is an advance of thirty-three per cent upon that of 1837. The average compensation of females has increased to $ 12,81 per month, (in both cases inclusive of board,) which is an advance beyond that of 1837, of little more than 12½ per cent." — p. 31.

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This is indeed very gratifying. Not that we rejoice, that education costs more, but we believe that we have schools of better quality corresponding to the increase of expense. Yet this improvement is not universal. The average wages have advanced, yet not all alike. Some have risen much, others have fallen. Teachers' services are like any merchandise in the market. While there is an increasing demand for a better quality, this commands a better price, while the inferior, finding fewer purchasers, and dull sale, falls in price. So now,

"There is an active competition among committees for good teachers, which constantly augments their salaries. There is an equally active competition among poor teachers, and thus the wages of this class are constantly reduced. In the one case, it is a competition among employers, which always enhances prices; in the other, it is a competition among the employed, which always reduces them." — p. 32.

We must dissent from Mr. Man's opinion, that,

"To any young man, who has the natural qualifications of intellect and disposition, for becoming a good teacher, and who will expend as much time and money in obtaining the acquired ones, as candidates for a profession expend in preparatory studies, or even as apprentices expend in learning a handicraft, the noble and sacred profession of a teacher in Massachusetts now offers liberal and permanent remuneration." — p. 32.

It is an essential and we fear an immovable evil in our school system, that the male teacher's employment must be temporary and interrupted. Out of the twenty-five hundred schools taught by males last year, only two hundred and thirty gave them occupation in the summer. The other twenty-two hundred and seventy found them employment only in the winter in teaching, and obliged them to look to some other vocation during the six or ten intermediate months. Nor are the rewards of a teacher sufficient to induce him to make much outlay of time or money in preparation. We had occasion to inquire into the amount of earnings of journeymen shoemakers, blacksmiths, painters, carriage and piano forte makers, &c., and ascertained, that, while the most skilful and industrious laborers in these trades earned a hundred per cent, and others fifty per cent more than the teachers of the winter schools of the town, in which the examination was made, none of these handicraftsmen obtained a less reward than the instructors, and all had permanent employment, winter and summer.

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Our schools have been too much entrusted to men, with whom teaching is not a profession but an accident. They have other business or purposes of life, but, from some temporary or incidental cause, they are willing to teach a school. A mechanic, a clerk, an agent, has no work in his vocation, and wants employment for the time of his idleness, — a student wants money to enable him to finish his collegiate or professional education, — the trade of another is necessarily suspended in the winter. All these seek schools to occupy the time, which is not or cannot be otherwise occupied, or to gain means to advance other purposes, which are not to be benefitted, by any talent developed, or by any success obtained in his casual avocation. These have no motive to make preparations beforehand for their work, or to do anything in their school more than to fulfil their contract respectably, and obtain their stipulated reward, which will permit them to bend their heart and energies to their main pursuit.

Considering then, that the journeyman mechanic obtains better wages in his trade than the teacher receives for instructing a school, — that the one has permanent while the other has only temporary employment, and that by means of the skill, which the artisan may develop in his handicraft, he may hope to become a master workman and an employer, whereas no success in teaching can secure annual schools for any considerable portion of our school-masters, it might be supposed that the best talent and faithfulness would be elsewhere engaged, and that the instruction of our children must be left to the uncertain leisure of persons, who have neither taste nor especial fitness for this office.

But improvement in this matter is not hopeless. We have a remedy at our hands, — which many have tried successfully, — and of which we may all avail ourselves; that is, the employment of female teachers.

Nothing can be more satisfactory than Mr. Mann's suggestions upon this subject.

"The employment of female teachers for our schools seems to be increasing from year to year, in an accelerating ratio. It began from a conviction of its reasonableness and expediency; it is extending as the light of experience more and more clearly reveals its advantages.

"All those differences of organization and temperament, which individualize the sexes, point to the female as the guide

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and guardian of young children. She holds her communion from nature. In the well developed female character, there is always a preponderance of affection over intellect. However powerful and brilliant her reflective faculties may be, they are considered a deformity in her character, unless overbalanced and tempered by womanly affections. The dispositions of young children of both sexes correspond to this ordination of Providence. Their feelings are developed earlier than their judgment, and they aspire after a nature kindred to their own. They need kindness and not force, and their better instincts are to be fostered by a congenial warmth, rather than their reason to be addressed by a cold and severe logic. They can feel a thing to be right or wrong, before they can understand the rigorous demonstrations of the moralist, and hence appeals should be addressed to their sentiments rather than to their reflective powers. They are to be gently withdrawn, rather than rudely driven from whatever is wrong; to be won towards whatever is right more by a perception of its inherent loveliness and beauty, which they can appreciate, than by its general utility, which they cannot yet comprehend.

"In the correction of children, the stern justice of man thinks more of the abstract enormity of the offence, and he therefore chastises it with a severity proportioned rather to the nature of the transgression, than to the moral weakness of the transgressor. Hence in rooting out an evil, he may extirpate much that is benevolent and generous; or, in subduing one propensity, may rouse into violent activity a brood of others more pernicious than itself. It requires a gentler, a more forbearing nature, and a nicer delicacy of touch, so to remove the evil as not to extirpate the good." — pp. 28, 29.

"The manners of females are more mild and gentle, and hence more in consonance with the tenderness of childhood. They are endowed by nature with stronger parental impulses, and this makes the society of children delighful, and turns duty into pleasure." *

To all this we give our cordial assent, and more. We believe that females are not only the best teachers of primary schools, but they may be advantageously employed to teach the older boys and girls. Some of the towns have for many years employed women to instruct their winter schools, and are satisfied with the experiment. Indeed, with them it is no longer an experiment but a demonstration. And very many

* Mr. Mann's 5th Report, p. 45.

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of them have given their testimony boldly to this fact. Looking over the Abstracts of the School Returns, we find many statements like the following: —

The Boylston Report for 1840, says, in two of the districts females taught the winter schools, and "we have never known them to be more ably managed, more successfully governed, or more faithfully instructed. The scholars have made all the proficiency that we could have expected under teachers of the other sex. The large scholars have, uniformly in the West School, and generally in the Centre, been more cheerfully submissive to the rules and regulations of the school, than in former winters, when under the male teachers." — *Abstract*, 1840 – 1, p. 91.

The Petersham committee say,

"Four of our winter schools were taught by females;" "justice compels us to say, that the schools have made as good progress as those taught by males, and the school, which made decidedly the best appearance, was taught by a lady." — p. 113.

The Upton Report states,

"This [winter] school was under the same successful teacher as in the summer, and made accelerated progress in education, and virtually established the fact, that females are better calculated to nourish and expand the bud of human intellect, than those who boast themselves their lords." — p. 126.

The Westminster Report states,

"Four of our eleven districts have employed females during the past winter, and three of the four have been among our best taught schools." — p. 135.

The Belchertown committee report that,

"Five of our schools have been taught by females during the winter, and they have been among our *best* schools." — *Abstract of School Returns*, 1841 – 2, p. 110.

The Andover Report says,

"In two of our winter schools females were employed as teachers; and these schools would not suffer in comparison with any that were taught by males. — p. 4.

We have had under our own observation winter schools, in which a female was the guide and governess of stout and full-grown young men and women, and taught them all the com-

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mon and higher branches, that are usual in our district schools. And we have never known an instance of failure in government, discipline, or instruction because the teacher was a female. On the other hand, we have known of one school, which for a series of years was disorderly and unmanageable under the care of men, suddenly restored to order and so continued under the direction of a woman.

We might quote many more statements like these from the various volumes of school returns, but here are enough for our purpose. This proof is positive. It is no theory, it comes from observation and experience. This evidence comes from all parts of the State. There has been no collusion, no concert of action, no general opinion to be supported. Each town has for itself, under all varieties of circumstances, tried its own experiment, repeated it year after year with the same satisfactory results, and given the same testimony. And while all of these have concurred in the statements given in favor of female instructors for winter schools, not one has spoken of or alluded to any failure in the female, although they have freely confessed the faults and the ill success of their male teachers.

It cannot then be said, that though a female may be a good governess for little children, or however excellent she may be in the primary school, she must fail in the management of the larger boys, and be incompetent for the instruction of the winter schools.

It may be objected, that many of the present female teachers of the summer schools are not qualified to teach all the higher branches, which are studied in winter. This we admit; but the fault is not theirs but ours. The compensation, which we have given these females, has not been sufficient to enable them to expend money and time in qualifying themselves for the better discharge of their responsible duties.

"The price paid to the great majority of female teachers is less than is paid to the better class of female operatives in factories."— p. 34.

A good cook or expert tailoress may earn more in the kitchen or in the shop, than is offered in the school room.* Whereas

* In Louisville, Ky. the assistant female receives one hundred and fifty dollars a year for teaching the children in the public schools, while one hundred dollars a year, board, clothing, and all expenses of sickness are paid for a female slave, who cannot read, for cooking these children's meat.

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if our committees would pay females as liberally for teaching, as others pay them for weaving, sewing, or cooking, they would be encouraged to learn their art in advance as these do. Or if we would reward the female teacher as well as we do the male, we should command the best female talent and accomplishment for our schools.

"The disproportion between the wages of male and female teachers is very striking, and seems altogether indefensible on any principle of justice or policy. On an average, throughout the State, the compensation, which was paid to the sexes respectively is as $ 32,22 to $ 12, 78, which is a disproportion of more than two and a half to one. But why should a woman receive less than two-fifths as much as a man for services, which in no respect are of inferior value? This disparity is in the highest degree impolitic for the employer, as well as unequal towards the employed. Its inevitable consequence is to degrade the standard of female qualifications for teaching, and this is followed as inevitably by a deterioration in the quality of the instruction given." — p. 32.

Say what we will about the dignity of employment, or the benevolence of the teacher's vocation, still compensation must be the governing principle, in these, as in other matters, to invite men and women to the work; and the greatest talent and energy will flow toward those pursuits, which offer the highest reward. For this reason we have not obtained, for the instruction of our schools, the greatest power and accomplishment, which was purchasable in the market.

The occupations of men are many, while those of women are few; and yet there is about the same number in either sex, who want, or ought to want employment. Hence there is a greater competition among females for opportunities of labor than among men, and the wages of the former are less than those of the latter. Therefore the same reward purchases a higher order of service from women than from men. Now if any employment, for which either sex has equal fitness, should be open to the competition of both, and the same reward proposed to either for performing the work, more talent and skill will be offered from females than from males, because the competition will extend over a much larger proportion of the former than of the latter class.

Believing that the female mind and temperament, in their best conditions, are not merely equal but superior to the male,

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for the purposes of developing the mental powers and forming the moral character of youth, it is well to throw open our winter schools to the competition of both sexes. We are aware, that we shall here be told, that many, perhaps most of our female teachers are inferior to their brethren in the same profession. But, we repeat, we have not obtained for this purpose the greatest female talent and knowledge, and we are here comparing the female service, which we purchase for seven dollars a month, with the male service, which we purchase for twenty-four dollars. Let us now place both sexes upon the same ground of reward. Let us offer the same pay-payment for the same labor, wherever it may be found, then we shall obtain more wisdom and learning, more power of accomplishing our purposes in women than we can in men. The education of our children is not a matter to be provided for with higgling parsimony, which is wise only to the extent of a penny, and beyond that foolish. But with liberal economy let us look at both ends of the bargain. Let us offer twenty-four dollars a month for the greatest capacity of government, the best tact in teaching, the greatest power of influencing youth for good, and of exciting them to a love of learning and truth, and we shall obtain the largest return for our money, by purchasing this of females.

But most unrighteously do we graduate the prices of this labor, not by the worth of the service rendered, but by some other and extraneous notions. The towns, which have employed females for their winter schools, and acknowledged their equality or superiority to the others, have yet done them the injustice to pay them less than half the wages, which they paid to their male inferiors, — less than half of what was honestly due them. The town of Warren says, —

"We have employed five female and six male teachers during the winter, and the experiment has been attended with the most happy result in favor of the females."

"Some of the teachers were too young; one being only fifteen years old, and another a trifle older, both males, and having had no experience in teaching, it was hardly to be *expected*, that they would maintain that dignity or command that respect, which are requisite in order to be successful." — *Abstract*, 1841 – 2, p. 103.

And yet we find that in this very town, the female teachers, including those who taught the winter schools, so much better

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than their brethren, were paid only $7.34 a month, while the masters, including the boys, whose services were good for nothing, were paid $16.50 per month!

Another and important advantage in the substitution of female for male teachers of the winter schools will grow out of the difference of pursuits in life in the two sexes. We see, that with a man this is a mere incidental business, which he does by the way, while his main purposes are suspended: he has "stepped into the office as a passing resting place, while waiting upon Providence for something better." He has therefore no motive to study, to reflect, to make himself a better teacher day by day: but if he can earn his wages honestly, he has no inducement to do more. Feeling all the time, that the labor of his life, in his profession, or his farm, or in his workshop, will be accomplished none the easier, nor more profitably, from any skill he may acquire in his temporary calling, however conscientious he may be to bring all his present powers to his work, he cannot feel the interest to develop more talent, that he would, if teaching were to be his permanent business.

But the great purpose of woman's life, the supervision and education of a family, is more easily and better accomplished from all the talent acquired in teaching. Whatever power she may develop here will come in use there. She feels in school, that she has entered upon the great highway of her existence, and works with cheerfulness and energy, bringing forth new skill and interest continually. If then she marry, she is more ready than others: if she do not marry, she has the best and most acceptable means of support, and an enviable position in society. And, if the districts adopt the plan of vacations before suggested, she has permanent employment.

If then our committees would employ women both winter and summer, and offer them the same wages, that are now given to men, we should soon see a class of female teachers such as we have not hitherto seen, and have our choice of all the female talent and knowledge, that is obtainable for money.

"In regard to the great majority of teachers, the public voice calls for a higher state of preparation before they enter the school, — both in regard to literary attainments and moral purposes." — p. 41.

This call has not been in vain. Great improvement has been made, and much more is needed. The Normal schools

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are working admirably, both directly and indirectly, in this matter. They have sent forth their generations of teachers, far better prepared for their vocation than they otherwise could have been. Some have been completely educated for this purpose, by years of study. Others have gone through only a partial training. But the indirect effects of these Normal schools extend beyond these. They have raised the standard of teachers' qualifications, and convinced the people that better instructors can and ought to be obtained, than they have been contented to employ. Committees now believe that a teacher is not born with a spelling-book in his mouth, but that fitness for this office is as much a matter of cultivation and growth as for any other work. Many of these guardians of the schools were accustomed to wait passively at their homes, until some master should come along, and then employ such as chance should throw in their way. Now we are happy to know that these officials are more active, and look far and near for good teachers, as anxiously as they do for a good laborer for their farms, or good journeyman for their shops.

There are, indeed, many poor and worthless teachers, who still prowl the land seeking the children, whose patrimony they may devour, and not always without success in their endeavors. It is painful to see that some of these carry with them a file of certificates of competence, and of recommendations to further employment, from committees and parents, who have tried them and found them wanting, and therefore would not again entrust their children to their hands. Yet these were mean enough to certify to a falsehood, and attempt to palm off their base coin upon the unsuspecting elsewhere. Perhaps these easy men, who recommend the unworthy so freely, do it for kindness' sake, and in pity to the unfortunate teacher. They may not be conscious of the evil they do, nor of the sin they commit. One man sends forth to the market merchandise, with concealed defects, which he has tried and proved to be worthless, and yet declares that it is sound, and advises people to purchase and pay for it. Another man sends forth a schoolmaster, whom he has tried and proved to be so unfit for his business, that he refuses to re-engage him. Yet he gives him a certificate of his fitness for his office, and recommendatory letters. In the former case we call it an act of swindling. We do not

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like to apply so hard a name to the latter; but practically and honestly, we see no difference between them.*

This evil, and its causes, are fast disappearing. The Normal schools are acting both as preventive and curative. We believe no institution in this land is doing more good for the people, and especially the poor. We have our army and our navy to defend us from the enemy without, and our police to preserve us within. We have our bank commissioners to see that the banks send no spurious money into circulation. How much more do we need institutions like these, to guard us from incompetent and spurious teachers, who would not only devour our substance, but deprive the poor of their sole inheritance?

The burden of Mr. Mann's report is devoted to the discussion of the proper selection of studies to be pursued in schools. There is a common routine; reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and grammar. These the law requires to be taught, and all attend to them. But these are not the sum of the matters to be learned by the young. They are mainly disciplinary, and preparatory to others, which are to succeed them, and to have a more immediate bearing upon the circumstances and the welfare of life. It is important to determine what other subjects shall be taught in schools. Undoubtedly all will agree as to the great object of education, that children should learn those things, which will contribute most to their usefulness and happiness, and make them the best men and citizens. Still the question is open; What branches of knowledge will most certainly tend to produce these results? Upon the right and the wrong determination of this question, in regard to the child, may depend the character of the man, and his weal or woe through life. And yet Mr. Mann says that, "in the twelve hundred reports, which have now been submitted, there is not one, in which the relative importance of the higher branches has been discussed. Their introduction has been left to chance. Teachers, who have not been educated in the whole circle of studies, and never considered in what order they should be arranged, or in what degrees apportioned, almost invariably have some favorite study, some pet branch, in which they themselves excel, and in which the pupils, under

* We once saw a letter from one committee to a similar board in another town, asking, "Whether a letter recommendatory, brought by a teacher from the former, was written honestly and from the facts, or merely in kindness to the teacher."

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their especial care and influence, will be likely to excel, and which is therefore pursued, to the exclusion of others, however superior in importance." — p. 53.

Sometimes the slightest accident will determine one study to be adopted and another to be rejected. The possession of a book in the family, or the facility of borrowing it of a friend, or even the difference of cost between the text book of one science and another, or a few cents saved, has made one an astronomer and not a chemist. Now and then, the price has forever barred the whole range of science from the child's mind. Some are ambitious of learning things large and distant, to the neglect of those humbler and nearer. Some are thoroughly instructed in matters, which are seldom used and never needed, to the exclusion of the practical subjects of every-day utility. We have met with some in this enlightened city, who were familiar, by book, with the scenery, topography, productions, and conditions of the people in Middlesex, Norfolk, Essex, and Worcestershire in England, while they were as ignorant of these things in the same counties in Massachusetts, as they could be of the people in the moon; and what is worse, they thought these affairs of home not worthy of the attention of well educated ladies.

Mr. Mann ascertained the numbers of pupils in the public schools of Massachusetts, who were studying the higher branches, during the last year.

"The result is as follows:

History of the United States	10,177	Geometry	463
General History	2,571	Human Physiology	416
Algebra	2,333	Logic	330
Book-keeping	1,472	Surveying	249
Latin Language	858	Greek Language	183
Rhetoric	601		

"In some of the public schools, other branches, such as botany, chemistry, natural history, astronomy, intellectual philosophy, and the French language are attended to." — p. 55.

In this list, it is manifest that neither the ideas of utility nor the hope of pleasure could generally have governed the selection. Some of the studies have reference to this world, some to another, and some to none at all. All desire to investigate the things, that are and may be about them, and be thereby prepared for the circumstances of life. They study language for communication, arithmetic for calculation, geography for

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business, travel, and reading, and chemistry and natural philosophy to aid them in their daily operations. So far all is very well. But those things, which they must use before language, or business, — those which they ever have about them, without which they can neither move nor have any being, — those circumstances amidst which they ever exist, and which must be to them life or death, according to the manner in which they use them, — their own frames, the laws of their existence, the relations of these to other matters, — these things were studied by only four hundred and sixteen, in the State, while more than twice that number were studying Latin, the language of the dead. But human physiology was among the lowest in this catalogue.

Of the great importance of this last named topic we shall take occasion to speak at another time.

E. J.

NOVELS OF FREDERIKA BREMER.*

Every work which seizes upon public favor is worthy of attention. The very fact of its popularity should excite an interest about it in the minds of the wise and good. They should read it, should investigate the cause of its popularity, should enquire into its probable effect on the community, and be prepared to throw the weight of their sentiments into the scales of public opinion. The world is not so bad as to reject the influence of their views, nor so good as to need them not. There is no case in which they are more bound to use their judgments for the benefit of the unwise, the impetuous, the unthinking, the susceptible, than in the scrutiny of the favorite reading of the day. Popular works do affect the feelings of individuals enough to color their lives, and they therefore affect the well being of society; and it is of no small interest to observe, whether the writings of a Bulwer carry all before them,

* The Neighbours; a story of Every-day Life: The H—— Family: The President's Daughters; a Narrative of a Governess: The Home; or Family Cares and Family Joys: Strife and Peace; or Scenes in Norway. By Frederika Bremer. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1843.

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and undermine the popularity of works issuing from high and pure spirits, or whether the genius of a Bulwer stands quelled under the rebuke of Religion and Morality, and seeks universal acceptance by an apparent enlistment in their cause.

The decided favor, with which the productions of Frederika Bremer have been received among us, speaks well for the moral taste of the American community; and in saying this we have uttered one of the warmest commendations of the author. It is true that there are certain criticisms uttered as to the tendency of certain parts of these fascinating sketches. These criticisms seem to us just, and the very fact, that such are uttered, is a good symptom, and is an evidence that it is the general moral beauty of these sketches, which is giving them their strong hold upon all hearts, and that faults which incur such censure are the more obvious, because they are in such strange, glaring inconsistency with the grand tenor of the works, with what appears to us the healthy character of Miss Bremer's views of life.

It is amusing to remember the expressions of disgust with which many threw down "The Neighbours," on its first appearance. Practised novel-readers found it so unlike their favorite works, those unacquainted with foreign literature were so annoyed by its foreign peculiarities, those little accustomed to translations were so disturbed by what appeared to them oddities of style, and many applied to it so unintelligently the same rules by which they would judge a book written by an English or American lady, that they pronounced a hasty and unfavorable verdict, and were not a little amazed to find it set aside so unceremoniously by the public. It is a recommendation of these tales, that they are not written by an author of one country, laying the scene in another, and attempting to paint it from description or cursory inspection. The circumstance, that they are written by a Swede, leads us to hope that they are correct as the Daguerreotype itself; that the pictures are the very transcripts of nature, engraved by the sunbeams of truth. So only can they have the high value of conveying to us fact, and giving us that for which all readers should thirst, knowledge.

In the same way we become reconciled to much that offends our attachment to our own conventionalisms, and notions of refinement. We meet here no more with heroines who live upon dewdrops, moonlight, and thin air, like the fair ones with whom we have long been familiar in our English poetry, and

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romance. The ladies to whom Miss Bremer introduces us do not even sustain life, from choice, upon the lightest farinaceous edibles and cold water, like many gentle creatures of flesh and blood around us. They not only fare sumptuously, but solidly, every day; and eating seems to social life in the North not only a thing of necessity, but of much pleasurable importance; and there is no hiding this attention to creature-comforts. Nobody has learned to be ashamed of eating, nor of what is eaten; and Miss Bremer is not ashamed to describe all this as it is, whoever may cry, "out upon her want of taste!" or, "out upon the half civilized people!" She tells us, in evident unconsciousness or carelessness, of the impression of many a dish upon the table, and many a custom of the consumers, at which we stand amazed. And what sense is there in our doing so? Might not a tale be written among us, faithfully sketching our every-day life, and sent into Sweden, there to awaken wonder, and perhaps laughter, among the thoughtless or narrow-minded? It is not thus that national differences are to be regarded; they are fit subjects of intelligent curiosity, and the philanthropic philosopher may speculate upon them for good. And we hold that while Miss Bremer paints faithfully the customs of her brave, virtuous, and well instructed people, of whose history and position the world ought to know more than it does, we are not to come forward with a false refinement and illiberal fastidiousness, charging her with a coarse taste. Nor does it show cultivated, large minds, to suffer our contempt to be awakened by modes of living different from our own, even though we pronounce them behind the age. It may be that if the nations of the North retain an undue interest in the table, and, among their relics of primitive simplicity, use viands which we deem unpalatable, they also hold fast some other and better things, which we, to our wo, have lost. It may be that Honesty, public and private, with ancient face and rude speech, yet lingers honored among her "Neighbours," and in her "Homes."

We do not feel disposed to conform to the good old practice of Reviewers, and sketch the plots of the five tales before us. Those who have read them need it not, and those who mean to read them will not thank us for such anticipation; and we suppose almost every one who peruses our page belongs to one or the other of these classes. What story is contained in "The Neighbours," is conveyed in a series of letters from Franciska,

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a newly-married lady, whom most readers, we suspect, feel to be the real heroine of the book. Her husband, too, a personage as totally unlike an ordinary hero of romance, as a substantial silver teapot is unlike a graceful alabaster vase, is its real hero; he and his "little wife," so full of goodness and arch simplicity, take deep hold of all hearts. They are remembered, quoted, alluded to in playful conversations among friends, thought of wishfully in more serious moments, as of absent friends whom we should be glad to see again. Each fond wife thinks Lars Anders very much like her own gude man, and many a "caro sposo" has been redubbed "Bear" in all lovingness by *one* tongue, while others are whispering, perhaps, that there is indeed something to recall the original brute, though not him to whom Franciska so sweetly applies it. There are three other characters of importance, according to the places assigned them by Miss Bremer. There is Serena, who would be very lovely in real life; but as we seek copies from nature in such fictions as these, we cannot help feeling all the while, "there never was such a creature in real life; she is too shadowy, too angelic for anything but poetry. Tegner should have described her, not Miss Bremer." A little more of human imperfection would have made her more interesting to all but thorough-bred novel readers, who expect, as a matter of course, to pursue one such "faultless monster" through the mazes of a romance. Then there is Bruno, whose character does not seem to us either natural or edifying, and whose marriage with Serena makes us glad she is only a thing of the imagination; not a real woman, whose fate we should follow into such wedlock with aching hearts. Then there is "ma chère mère," on whom Miss Bremer seems to have expended much effort; she too appears to us overdrawn and extravagant. There is wonderful power in the scenes of her struggles with her son, and of their parting; and a good lesson in the mutual suffering which follows her grand mistake in the education of this fiery being. So too there is power in some of the developments of Bruno's nature; but that power is apparently exercised in display of itself. There is an evident wish to produce effect in many interviews between mother and son; nor can we keep away the recollection of Byron and some of his heroes. The female companion of Bruno is altogether a painful superfluity.

Of "The H—— Family," we do not care to say much.

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With scarcely an exception its readers have pronounced it inferior to "The Neighbours;" and the love of the blind girl, still more, its acknowledged return by a virtuous married man, although the whole be conveyed with the greatest delicacy of expression, have been received with such an universal murmur of disapprobation, as to evince a hopeful quickness and purity of moral sense in our society. It is not enough to say that such attachments have actually taken place. It can do no human being any good to know that fact; they have not happened often enough to justify their being held up to our gaze in warning. The only cases in which it can profit man to look upon representations of evil in any shape, are as admonitions against besetting sins and probable temptations. Miss Bremer's singular gifts as a great moral teacher, who can win man to love goodness by the exercise of her powers in this simple mode, impose it upon her as a duty. Heaven itself has set her apart as a sort of missionary in the world of mind and heart; and henceforth, if conscious of her holy vocation, she will go on with a single purpose, to evoke and call into action the religious sentiment that lies deep in every soul, to purify the tastes of the young, to prepare for the conflict with temptations which *must* come. We hold, that writers labor not in such a province, when they drag from the recesses of human hearts, from the nooks of society, rare specimens of human frailty, and for the sake of a little novelty or spicy strangeness, show what certainly does not "adorn a tale," and is not needed to "point a moral."

We believe that "The President's Daughters" is a greater favorite with the public than "The H. Family," and it surely deserves to be. But after its perusal, we began to hear the complaint which is so common, when people read many books from the same pen, especially if they are read in rapid succession. They spoke of "too strong family likenesses," of "repetitions," of "meeting the same characters with new names and in new positions." And some now find a difficulty in recalling separately and distinctly the various individuals of the fine tales before us, and assigning each portrait to its own frame; — though we have met with no such unlucky personage as the worthy old bachelor, who, when the renown of the still issuing Waverley novels was fresh, used to enquire about once in a month, whether "Di Vernon was in Ivanhoe or Kenilworth."

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There is indeed much of the same material found in each of these sketches; and since they are so modest in profession, calling themselves sketches only, and the material is so good, we do not object to it. We think that Miss Bremer would have flourished well in the almost forgotten era of Richardson, when she could have thrown all her ideas into one voluminous production, the fruit of some years of labor; and have made one set of characters keep fast hold upon our heart-strings, through the beautiful follies of childhood, through courtship, through married life or a charming celibacy, the joys and sorrows of the parent, and a holy old age. She might have written that which Retch alone could have fitly illustrated. We see the flighty readers of our day, who like to "get through" a book in twenty-four hours, holding up their deprecating hands at this suggestion; but there is something in Miss Bremer's peculiar capacities as a writer, which makes us feel that she could do this if any one could, in an age of steam vessels and rail-roads, of abridgments and pictorial histories, of physical, intellectual, and moral bustle.

Adelaide, the "bright particular star" among the President's daughters, is a beautiful and not unnatural creation of the author's fancy. We would have this character studied, yes, studied by the many lovely creatures whom God has sent into this world with that peculiar and fearful responsibility, of which they are so often sadly unconscious. We would have those who are always sure to know that Beauty has been given them, — beauty! which is power and therefore brings responsibility — we would have them here contemplate in Adelaide as we first see her, what is the true position of the Beauty, and in her growth and development of character, that which the most tempted may become. It is a felicity to look upon a lovely human countenance; but how often do sad thoughts steal upon this felicity, and that, in no misanthropic spirit! Would we could know that each graceful head, on which we love to gaze, will be bowed, ere it seek the pillow, in humble and fervent devotion! that its last waking thought of itself or of admiration will be in the meek and anxious consciousness that Beauty is a trying, a solemn gift. Then would it be no calamity, as it often is, unquestionably; but ever a fountain of blessing, as was God's purpose in creating it. We think Miss Bremer has been singularly skilful in giving this character a higher existence

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than that of ordinary novel heroines, by placing her among such temptations as meet fascinating girls often in real life, and amid them developing in her a practical goodness, and exquisite sweetness and principle.

There are many Edlas, too, in the world; and this is the reason, perhaps, why we had a feeling that we must meet her again in the ensuing sketch. We had become too much interested in her character and fate to part with her willingly.

We would give one or two passages from her journal, after her better existence has begun, full of the fervor of a new life of aspiration.

"Were I only good, were I only truly good, then would all be easier to me, and I should be happier. Why is Adelaide so happy? Not merely because she is so beautiful, so lovely; but especially because she is so good. She has peace in her own heart, peace with the world around her; she knows not what it is to murmur, to complain, to be unkind. Were I only good! my God! make me good." — "Resignation! oh, who can fully embrace thy full and strengthening life? Resignation! that is, the perfect submission of one's self, and devotion to the will of God. Pure resignation elevates and illuminates life. Thou pure angel! whose wings I already feel, fanning the air near my cross, teach me to pray, 'my God, thy will be done.'"

As in every family where there is a being somewhat like Adelaide, we not unfrequently find an Edla too, we think this whole character will awaken sympathy, and lift some tried spirits above circumstances.

"The Home!" what an eloquent title! how it stirs every good and true heart! how much did we expect, when the cold North East winds brought us from the pen of Frederika Bremer a work bearing this name on its title page! It came over the bleak Atlantic, and its glowing pages have not been chilled on the voyage; it is full of love, warmth, peace, beauty. It meets the expectation and fulfils the hope. The gentle name of Mary Howitt floats with it fitly, and we welcome the author and the translator as kindred spirits, coming to us with power to bless and uplift our souls above the cares and dust of life. We recognise all the characteristics of Miss Bremer's mind and heart in this volume, much longer than the others, and better than either, we think, though many would except their first love, "The Neighbours." The force

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of first impressions, and the sprightliness of the style have given to "The Neighbours" a charm which "The Home" must want; but we think that had it appeared first, it would have still remained without a rival. And if we judge it by the grand test, which is likely to *do most good*, its claim seems indisputable. It is full of practical wisdom, of naturally drawn characters, of touching incidents, of deep yet simple truths, of genuine, lovely religion.

All Miss Bremer's tales, in a quiet, unobtrusive manner, show us the actual operation of religion in life, and make the most careless feel both its reality and beauty. She does not delay her narrative that her characters may moralize or preach; there is not a line which the thought-hater can call mere cant. But she makes religion do the same work in her pages which it does wherever found; it strengthens the tempted, gives peace of mind under worldly trial, develops the higher nature, brings back the penitent, and blesses all; and this so naturally and exquisitely, that we forget the enchantress and her wand, look on the phantom scene as a reality, and feel its lessons sink deep into our souls. It does us more good than some graver books aiming at the same object, just as to live, day after day, in an interesting family, who are sincerely pious and benevolent, helps the soul's appreciation of goodness more than listening for years to eloquent sermons, without such illustrations.

The last tale is a mere sketch, but it is worthy of Miss Bremer. There is, indeed, one of those hacknied recognitions in it with which novel readers are pretty familiar; but the descriptions of life and scenery, and the beautifully drawn character of Susanna redeem all. We feel at times that the author is indeed countrywoman of him who poured forth the wild, stirring stanzas of Frithiof's Saga.

To us the picturesque scenery and dark romantic legends of the North have long appealed against the neglect with which the blooming world of civilization has treated them; and we are thankful, literally thankful, that the cloud of ignorance or prejudice, which has shut us out from so much knowledge and enjoyment, is likely to pass away under this Northern Light, this silver Aurora of female genius. We hope to see the day when the volumes of Swedish literature shall be found on our book-shelves with those of France and Germany; and when our tourists shall not only worship the God of Nature in the vale of Chamouni, or on the summit of the Righi, but seeking

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the Switzerland of the North, shall stand awed amid the glaciers of the Dovre, or scour, with reindeer and sledge, over the solemn wastes of Lapland snows, drinking in health and strength from those pure Arctic breezes. We thank her whose moral and intellectual power has given us glimpses of that, which must tempt onwards all who have soul and opportunity; and as she, in her modesty, probably dreamed little of us dwellers in a distant land, we thank those who have extended the magic circle of her influence, till we, too, were spell-bound.

The most striking attributes of Miss Bremer's character, as a writer, are those grand ones, genius, and moral excellence. We see her genius as she brings scenes and human beings vividly before us, and throws herself into different characters with that instinctive adaptation of act and speech which is the power of genius alone. She, the single woman, gives us the joys, the anxieties, the hopes and fears, the almost unutterable sorrows of a parent's heart, with a thrilling fidelity. We can scarcely believe that she has not herself given her plighted hand at the altar, and watched by the cradle, and trained the young spirit with fear and trembling, and gloried in the opening promise of "her summer child," uttered heart-felt warnings against secret dangers, imprudent marriage, youthful rashness; and then sat down in joy by the matured fruit of her toil, or in humble resignation beside its premature grave.

Where these elements of genius and moral excellence are so beautifully combined, the author is a blessing. Criticism may indeed find something to say; there is no perfection in commonplace, certainly, and we have no more right to expect it in works of genuine talent. We are the more disposed to approach these works in a fault-seeking spirit, because we foresee that their extraordinary merit will produce a host of imitators, as likely to seize that which had better not be copied, as that which they cannot copy, for their lives. Imitators have a strangely small portion of good taste and discrimination.

Yet after criticism has done her utmost, works of genius still hold their places in the hearts of men, unless there be some element of moral evil within, which, to the credit of human nature be it spoken, is usually an element of decay. We do not think there is any such element in Miss Bremer's writings. It would be inconsistent with what we have said above of her two main characteristics as an author. Yet many of her warmest admirers cry out against certain strange blemishes in some of

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her tales; and these blemishes are of so serious a nature as to deserve examination. In "The Neighbours," a young man, whom the author evidently intends that we shall like, becomes attached to a married woman. His love is rejected; but there it is; this love is one of the incidents of the work. In "The H—— Family," a blind girl falls in love with her Uncle! This incident is painful enough to virtuous minds, though the girl is represented as one whose undisciplined feelings have brought upon her all wo, even to insanity. But how can we apologize for the introduction of another love? The Uncle is held up to us throughout the tale as an object of respect, the husband of an excellent wife, the good father of a family. Yet in one scene which we should call not merely highly wrought, but extravagant, he acknowledges that he has loved this niece, — acknowledges it to *her!* And then we have her ecstasy of joy. One familiar with the deeper wickedness of the world might say, "but there was no sin; he proved his virtue by ruling this love; once only was it ever breathed from his lips; he mastered it." For what good purpose can such a passion have been introduced at all? It is incredible that such a man can have had such a horrid temptation to resist. We know not how a Parisian circle may receive it, depraved as their taste has been by certain modern authors, whose popularity is a burning shame. Such critics may wonder not so much at the attachment as at the victory; but we know that this sketch has been read to more than one American party, and this part of it received with a thrill of something sterner than disapprobation. It is vain to say that it is good to set forth the struggles and conquests of principle, though it be true as a general rule. Such struggles as this never occur where true principle reigns: it is one blessing of high, fixed principle, that it saves us from such struggles. Certain forms of sin and temptation dwell far away from it, with impassable regions between; they cannot come nigh it. There is a tremendous amount of evil in the world, whose dangers may be profitably unfolded in works of fiction, but it should be done with great caution; and the innocent should be warned against that alone which will probably assail them. We wish that Miss Bremer had spared her readers this unnecessary shock to every better feeling; though we have a deep conviction that it was in her but an error of taste.

In "The Home," a work whose general tone is exquisitely

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lofty and pure, we are again confounded by the introduction of a conflict between goodness and sin, where we should have expected that the very atmosphere of the former would have kept the latter at an unapproachable distance. And it is the same form of sin, too, for the third time: it is love entertained unlawfully, for a being consecrated by marriage, and by one in whom the author evidently wishes to interest us. We wondered at first how Elise could endure that Jacobi should remain under the same roof, after he had insulted her by seeking her heart; for that is what man never seeks without some hope of obtaining, and the faintest hope in this case was insult. But her noble speech of repulse, and her noble motive for permitting him to stay, plead in her defence. Still it seems to us, that the whole affair between Elise and Jacobi, with the suspicions of Louise afterwards, is improbable, too disagreeable for introduction, and of injurious tendency. As in the case of Judge H., it is not calculated to excite sufficient horror of a spiritual fall, an infidelity of the heart alone. It does not sufficiently impress upon us the solemn truth, that Christian obligation and God's judgment penetrate to the very innermost hiding-places of thought and feeling. Could we believe that such trials often entered the sanctuaries of virtuous homes, and tested the principles of good wives and mothers, we should still think Miss Bremer's management of this particular illustration injudicious. With regard to the character of Jacobi, we are perplexed not a little by the various aspects in which he appears from the beginning to the end of the book, and we can hardly think it sustained throughout with distinctness or consistency. Perhaps the author may have known a real Jacobi. We once heard a gentleman remark, that whenever he encountered any quite improbable anecdote from Miss Edgeworth's pen, his exclamation was usually cut short by an asterisk of reference, and a note below — "This is a fact."

And now comes up the question, how has such a writer as Miss Bremer, distinguished for knowledge of human nature and a high appreciation of moral excellence — an appreciation of which the pure-minded alone are capable — how has she fallen into such mistakes? Are they faults of taste early formed on some bad model? Or is it that, since the French have had so much influence in Sweden, French immorality has stolen into the holy places of the land, the virtuous homes, and Miss Bremer is bound to paint truly what she mournfully beholds, and

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warn loudly against insidious dangers? If so, God forbid that hers should be the fate of Cassandra! Or is it that she has been led astray by her desire to startle, to strike out something new, to produce strong emotion in her readers?

We cannot answer these questions. But it is this desire which has injured the efforts of many an able writer, and we have some evidence of its influence on Miss Bremer in nearly all her tales. There are extravagant and false conceptions of character in each; and marvellous, improbable adventures in each. Could she but throw away all this, and confine herself to the sphere in which she is so admirable, using her powers only to convey faithful pictures of life and human nature, as they move and change around her, pouring out the cheerful benevolence, the deep spiritual wisdom, the hopeful piety of her nature over her witching pages, we should follow her without a murmur, with reverence, with much gain to our souls, all round and through the mountains and the valleys, the cities and plains of honest Sweden, and glorious old Norway. She could lead us silent and rapt to the eternal ice of the Pole; and even there, in the stillness and seeming death of creation, make us thrill with love to God and man, with eagerness for more of knowledge and goodness, with consciousness of our better nature and sure destiny.

We like a practice which makes reading, like music, not only a solitary, but a social pleasure. The truest way, we think, to enjoy this remarkable writer, is to hear her productions read aloud. It would have other advantages beside the usual ones, economy of time, and enjoyment of sympathy, which have introduced it into many happy family circles, whom it renders still more domestic, united, and happy. Miss Bremer's narrative is usually interesting enough to hurry along a careless reader, and if he do not actually skip, he will lose the power of much which constitutes the true charm and merit of the whole. As stories, we do not think so highly of this series; we should place their claim to consideration on a much more lofty ground. In spite of the blemishes which we have mentioned so freely above, — the author has merit and popularity enough to bear freedom, — we consider them entitled to high estimation among philanthropists, because the spirit they breathe, the noble sentiments scattered throughout them, are likely to do good, to give wholesome views of life and duty, to awaken the thinking powers, and stir the nobler impulses of the soul.

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We have just opened "The Home," at random; our eyes lighted at once on this golden truth, simply expressed. "How much goodness there is in the world! though at a superficial glance one is disposed to doubt it. What is bad is noised abroad, is echoed from side to side, and newspapers and social circles find so much to say about it, while what is good goes, at best, like sunshine, quietly through the world." Alas for poor human nature! the same everywhere, on either side of the Atlantic! What a fairy change would pass over all society, could the passage we have quoted but produce its right effect. Could we but look at, believe in, seek out, enjoy, all the good there is in the world, and treat the evil we cannot prevent as if it existed not; could we but drive out of creation the false judgment or depraved taste, which sends it about on the pages of newspapers or the tongues of gossips!

The episode of Evelina's history is a full and good lesson, teaching the spirit of this quotation. "He who has no employment to which he gives himself with true earnestness, which he does not love as much as himself, has not discovered the true ground on which Christianity brings forth fruit."

The attachments of Sara and Eva are sadly true to nature, as many a sorrowing parent and repentant wife can testify; and both we think are managed in a way to bring out the intended moral with great force. In connection with the latter incident there is a passage of singular truth and beauty, which evinces much of Miss Bremer's accurate knowledge of human nature.

"It not unfrequently happens that people, whether it arises from physical or moral causes, become wonderfully unlike themselves. Irritability, violence, indiscretion, and unkindness, suddenly reveal themselves in a hitherto gentle and amiable character, and as if by a magic-stroke, a beautiful form has been transformed into a witch. It requires a great deal, under such circumstances, to keep friends warm and unchanged. A great demand of goodness, a great demand of clearness of vision, is made from any one, when, under these circumstances, he is required to remain true to the same love, to persevere in the same faith, to wait patiently for the time when the magic shall lose its power, when the changed one shall come back again; and yet he, all the time, be able only to present himself by quiet prayers, mild looks, and affectionate care! I say *great purity of vision*, because the true friend never loses sight of the heavenly

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image of his friend; but sees it through every veil of casualty, even when it is concealed from all, nay even from the faulty one's self! He has faith in it; he loves it; he lives for it, and says, 'Wait! have patience! it will go over, and then he (or she) comes back again!' And whoever has such a friend, comes back indeed!"—The Home, p. 91.

The letter from Elise to Cecilia, after the death of Henrik, is touching and beautiful, and the short one with which the work ends, is a fitting conclusion. It leaves us with the strains of a sweet plaintive harmony vibrating in our souls; tears gently fill our eyes; the various inmates of "The Home" rise and pass solemnly again before us, with their joys and sorrows, their virtues nursed in trial, and peaceful rewards, which some have found in heaven and some on earth. We think of other homes, nearer and dearer; other forms with which our hearts are more closely linked; other temptations, trials, duties, with which we ourselves have to do; and we feel ourselves more ready for it all. We are filled with an earnest prayer that we may live out some of the good we have drunk in during these few hours. Blessed be the author who so dismisses the fellow creatures over whom God has given her a brief sway! If any take up her pages for the unworthy purpose of seeking mere amusement, may they be led to acknowledge that Genius wears a more glorious radiance, when it rejoices in the unearthly sunshine of Religion.

L. J. H.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Manhood; or Scenes from the Past; a Series of Poems. By William Plumer, Jr. Boston: Tappan and Dennet. 1843.

This is the second portion of a series of poems, in which it was the design of the writer, to trace the progress of life from infancy to old age. Youth was the subject of the first; the present is devoted to manhood; and in both, the general plan is described to be, that each poem should express the sentiment or the feeling, appropriate to the occasion or state of mind to which it relates.

As this plan has been carried out with sufficient strictness, the work has the merit, in our view not a trivial one, of expressing natural and just sentiments in an unaffected manner. A different fashion has prevailed so long, in many quarters, that we were not without apprehensions, that poetry would never again vouchsafe a revelation of the real sentiments and feelings of its authors. Prosperous gentlemen, who fare sumptuously every day, have been prone to indulge in such weary descant upon the emptiness and vanity of earth; lofty spirits, who but just now left their boon companions at their cups, have poured forth such heart-broken wailings upon the chilling solitude, in which they wander through the world; young men have been so much in the habit of tuning their harps to the key of despair, that anything like simplicity of thoughts and expression began to be as inadmissible, as it would be in a modern singer to suffer his audience to hear a single syllable of the verses of his song. Mr. Plumer has no sympathy with this poor affectation; his strain of thought is always manly, and almost always just. Perhaps it will afford more gratification, and find quicker sympathy among his elder readers than the young. The prismatic colors, which opening life casts upon scenes and circumstances, are very different from those of maturer years; nor is it to be expected that the same description of poetry should find equal favor with all classes of readers, whose tastes undergo a change, in their progress through life, like that which time produces on the physical frame. No young man probably ever reads with very strong interest the later poetry of Wordsworth, because it expresses feelings he has never entertained, and sentiments which appear to him unnatural and tame: but it would be difficult for any one who turns to it after the shadows are

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extending eastward, not to feel that, however it may be to others, to him its calm philosophy is natural and true. Even in the writings of this very poet, the change produced by advancing life is very striking. In his youth he adopted a theory with respect to poetical expression, and followed it to the very verge of absurdity, if not beyond; but he subsequently, perhaps unconsciously, abandoned the extravagances of his system, retaining only its better part. It seems to be of the very nature of literary theory, like reform, to run into occasional excess. The angry torrent subsides at last, and leaves fertility in the place of turbulence and ruin. The poetical theorists of the close of the last century, exasperated by the unvarying melody of Hayley and the poets of his class, as honest people of more than common sensitiveness are sometimes rendered furious by the monotonous music of the cricket by the fireside, vowed vengeance against the race; and, in order to make an example of a shining mark, proceeded to offer up Pope as the sacrifice for the offences of all his followers. Pope, however, survives, and they are now content to leave his ashes in peace; while in the mean time, they have certainly done much to relieve poetical expression of its defects, and to awaken attention to a higher and more animated tone of poetry. For our own part, even at the risk of offending the more delicate taste of others, we must confess, that the poetry, which is marked by affectation and want of manliness, is rather worse than no poetry at all; and we are disposed to attach a high value to that of Mr. Plumer, because it is wholly untinged by either. Doubtless poetry should please; but it should give pleasure to manly, not perverted taste. Better that it should altogether forego this end, than that it should become the handmaid of low desires or inculcate aught but purity of sentiment. Its habitation is on high: if it comes down to earth, it should descend like an angel, "as he moves sometimes through the air upon his ministries here below;" not to share our imperfections, but to raise us to its own high sphere.

Mr. Plumer appears to be fond of the form of the sonnet, and employs it with facility and success. We offer the following as examples.

PRACTICE.

Action, 't is action, that our powers must try,
Not study, thought, seclusion: these alone
But arm us for the fight, yet ne'er make known
Our skill or prowess, while inert they lie;
Motion is life; and we must do or die.

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Our thoughts are fruitless, till in action shown,
Till power displayed, on adverse power o'erthrown,
Give strength to purpose, that may fear defy.
Power hast thou gained, or knowledge? Put to use
Thy talent then; to hoard it is abuse,
Nay, worse, is sin: hand, tongue, or pen,
Whate'er thy weapon, void of fear or doubt,
Mix boldly, gladly, with thy fellow men,
And work, with earnest heart, thy purpose out.

FREEDOM.

Freedom is self-control. He is not free
Who looks abroad for guidance; or who finds
In party, creed, or sect, in king's decree,
Or mob's acclaim, the rule of right that binds
His thoughts and feelings. Freedom dwells in minds
To virtue disciplined; where sense of right,
Our own, and not another's, is our guide;
Where self-respect, and scorn of wrong unite,
And truth and justice in our hearts preside.
To freedom thus inbred, if law accord
Freedom of action, we are free indeed:
But wrong, is tyranny, — by one decreed
Or many, — wrong, not less to be abhorred,
Though thousands gain, if one unjustly bleed.

The following poem, entitled, "Anniversary of the Wedding," is in a different strain.

We will not count, — so fast they run, —
The years, my love! since first we met;
Since life was new, and our bright sun
Was in its hour of dawning yet.

What though that sun is westering now,
With deepening shadows backward cast;
Its cheerful light may yet allow
Bright hours of pleasure ere 't is past.

Time has but ripened into grace
Each nobler charm of heart and mind;
Nor reft thee yet, in form or face,
Of aught that soul to soul could bind.

Along these quiet walks with me
Thy light steps still as airy bound,
As when in hours of youthful glee,
They leaped, in mirth, to music's sound.

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Thy lively laugh as gaily rings,
As in those hours of opening youth;
As warm thy prompt affection springs,
As in our prime of joy and truth.

Those eyes of love are still as bright,
As when at first on me they shone;
Yet softened now with milder light,
And deeper tints to youth unknown.

If graver thought upon our brow
Is fixing here his aspect sage,
Yet cheerful fancies wreath, e'en now,
With smiles of joy the cares of age.

Then let them haste, the years! away:
Our growing loves they cannot part;
Youth did not lead our thoughts astray,
Age will not change the constant heart.

A Collection of Hymns for the Christian Church and Home. James Munroe & Co. Boston.

This collection by the Rev. Dr. Flint of Salem is an excellent one in many respects. Were we to dwell on subordinate qualities we would say, that the book is of convenient size, — it is easy to purchase, and easy to carry — it bears lightly on the purse, and lightly on the hand. The number of hymns is not swelled up as if worth consisted in bulk and burden.

The matter of the book is excellent also, and this is the one thing needful. There is consistency of sentiment without sameness, and variety without confusion. The divisions are simple, and the arrangement of subjects lucid. The collection is a valuable contribution to the lyrical devotion of the public and the domestic altar.

We hear much about the scarcity of good hymns. Doubtless they are scarce, but with a genuine taste, we suspect, we should find them more abundant than we imagine. By extending the circle of our choice, and laying aside some of that superstition which holds our veneration to the mass of pious verses, without poetry, which swells our prescriptive psalmody, we should discover much from the noblest minds, that might be consecrated to the service of God. The true nature of the hymn seems to us to be greatly misunderstood by professional writers and collectors. The hymn is not theology; it is not logic; it is not metrical dogma, and it is not metrical argument. Neither is it

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ethical; it is no more a statement of morals, than it is a statement of doctrine. It is simply a *song;* a divine song, to be sure, but still a *song*. A hymn is subject to the laws which regulate this form of composition, and it must fulfil their conditions. The *essence* of a hymn is poetry; the *form* of it is lyrical; the *spirit* of it is devotional; let a composition, then, be poetical, lyrical, and devotional, with brief expression, and an adaptation to worship, and you have a complete hymn. The hymn is the melody of holy emotion, which breathes, because it must, in music. The hymn is faith made vocal in sweet sounds; it is the poetry of prayer. The hymn is not, as many seem to think it, a sermon, but a song. A short sermon in rhyme may be cogent in thought, and clear in language; but it is not a hymn. A hymn is not explanatory, but suggestive; not analytic, but inspiring. The logical is fatal to the lyrical; and there is no piety which can sing in syllogisms.

Dr. Flint with the spirit of a poet has been alive to this distinction; and the lyric beauty which marks his selection is the consequence. Hymns are for religious feeling, and not for speculative intellect. The *truth* of a hymn, therefore, is not metaphysical but emotional. We know, for instance, that this present world contains exceeding worth and exceeding goodness; but states of mind there are, in which the ideal of a holier beauty seems to flash rebuke on all that it can claim. These states of mind take at times expression in our hymns, and in reference to such states of mind the expression is true. So, we must from analogy believe that heaven has labor as well as earth; but contrast of idea being the source of mental relief, the fatigue of the present seeks refreshment in the repose of the future. Meeting a traveller weary after a long journey within a short distance of his home, we would not seek to cheer him by the work which awaited him, but by the rest which was to intervene. Thus it is, that heaven is associated in Scripture and devotion with tranquillizing imagery, because in Scripture and devotion, heaven is mostly used to give consolation to our *tired* hearts.

We think that a tender and trustful experience, a grave but grateful temper, a deep spiritual pathos, but solemn Christian hope, form the prevailing character of the book under notice. We observe in several hymns from Bryant this pensive tone, mingling the low sounds of a meek piety with "the soft, sad music of humanity." Distinguished by the peculiarities of each author's genius, we could specify many hymns in the compilation of similar character, from Norton, Moore, Heber, C. Wesley, and Milman. A more Jubilant and exultant strain

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pervades two fine old hymns (198, 311) from the Breviary; and a glorious one (334) from Heber. A most magnificent hymn is that (188) marked anonymous, and commencing, "A voice upon the midnight air;" also, that (240) from the fervid and energetic Quarles. Dr. Flint has inserted some exquisite productions of his own; and one especially, (365) an Evening Hymn, we read with much delight; like the close of a summer's day, it soothes down uneasy desire; it bids the troubled heart be still; — murmuring blessed thoughts, it steals with holy silence on the soul, and prepares it for darkness and for sleep with visions of beauty and dreams of peace.

Poetry for Home and School. Selected by the author of the "Theory of Teaching," and "Edward's First Lessons in Grammar." Boston: G. Simpkins. 1843. 12mo. pp. 360.

The judgment and good taste shown in this compilation, are as remarkable as the talent so manifest in the author's previous original publications. It will be found, we think, to answer entirely the end proposed. A selection could hardly be made that should address itself more winningly to the heart, the fancy, and the religious sentiments of the young reader.

Lectures on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans. By Thomas Chalmers, D. D., LL. D., Professor, &c. N. York: Robert Carter.

Those who wish to own the works of Dr. Chalmers will find here a cheap reprint of the Lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, yet with a good clear type and on fair paper. It is to be completed in five monthly parts, at twenty-five cents each. It is in octavo with double columns.

The Simple Cobler of Aggawam in America. By Rev. Nathaniel Ward. Edited by David Pulsifer. Boston: J. Munroe and Company. 1843. 12mo. pp. 96.

Reprinted in excellent taste from the edition of 1713, but with the additions and alterations contained in later ones.

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